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HISTORY

OF THE

PILGRIMS AND PURITANS

THEIR ANCESTRY AND DESCENDANTS
BASIS OF AMERICANIZATION

BY

JOSEPH DILLAWAY SAWYER
Author of "How to Make a Country Place"

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, A.M., D.D., L.H.D.
EDITOR

Author of "The Pilgrims in Their Homes," "Young People's History of the
Pilgrims," and other works

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME III

CHAPTER I

PEQUOT WAR—NEW SETTLEMENTS—INNER LIFE OF PILGRIM AND PURITAN—ANN HUTCHINSON

	PAGE
Pilgrim and Puritan Ideals	1
"More Light to Break from the Divine Word"	1
Church Members Only Granted the Right of Suffrage	1
No Room for a Priestly Clan	3
Colonial Portrait Painters	3
"Holy Sabbath" Not "Sunday"	3
Dutch Frivolities—(Old Adam)	6
"Elect" Infants	6
"Mumbling" the Toast	9
Charles I. Charter	12
"Is Woman a Human Being?"	12
University Founded before a Common School	14
Innate Spirit of Calvinism Is Democracy	15
Intimacy with Deity the Puritan Attitude	15
Harvard College Life in 1636	15
Eliot Bible Printed at Harvard	15
Character of Sir Harry Vane	20
"The Isle of Manisees" (poem)	22
Roger Williams a Factor at the Narragansett-Pequot Conference	22
Roger Williams Unjustly Banished	23
Defeat of the Pequots	26
Two Puritan "Fighting Johns"	27
Ann Hutchinson Opposes Teachings of Puritan Boston Clergy	29
John Wilson, First Puritan Pastor of Boston	32
Trial of Ann Hutchinson	35
Banishment of Ann Hutchinson, First Independent Woman Thinker	37
Two Quarreling Acadian Governors	37
Plymouth Has the Moving Fever	39
Plymouth Rights in Connecticut Usurped by Puritans	40

CHAPTER II

CROMWELL—NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERACY OF 1643—DEATH OF PILGRIM LEADERS

Rise of Puritanism in England	47
Religious Life of Pilgrim and Puritan	48
England Under Cromwell	49-58

	PAGE
Doctrine of Faith and Works	56
"The Sifted Grain"	57
A Trinity of Note	57
Cromwell Refuses a Crown	57
Thirty Ministers Ruled New England	59
Roger Williams and Miantonomoh	60
The Pequot War	61
Boston Inns	62
The Gorton Imbrolio	63
Passing of the "Big Four"	66-82
Conditions in Plymouth in the Seventeenth Century	72
English Puritans Come into Power	73
Ralph Waldo Emerson and Plymouth	74
From the Isle of Thanet to the New England Confederacy	85-88

CHAPTER III

THE QUAKER IN NEW ENGLAND

The Coming of the Quaker	89
Humphrey Norton's Clash with Plymouth Magistrates	89
A Babbling Pharisee	90
Humphrey Gives Lie to the Governor, Thomas Prence	91
Gagging the Ranter	91
Plymouth Laws Against the Quaker	91
Plymouth Inaugurating a Quaker Forum	92
Defection of Isaac Robinson	92
The Breaking Forth of the Inner Light	92
War of Words Between the Quaker and the "Elect"	93
Undermining Sects	93
Maligning Mary Dyer	93
George Fox Persecuting Witches	93
Puritan Charter of Rights	93
The Fearless Quaker Courting Martyrdom	94
Second Generation Persecuting Quakers	94
Proving Action and Reaction Equal	95
Quaker Faith Undermining the Puritan Faith	95
Ranting Quakers	96
Monument over Calvin's Newly Discovered Grave	96
Fox in Nottingham Church in 1649, Announcing the Quaker Faith	96
Mary Dyer, Later Following in the Footsteps of Fox	96
Endecott Sentencing Mary Dyer to Death	96
Blaxton's Homestead Included Boston Common	96
Whittier's Poem on the Quakers	98

CONTENTS

ix

	PAGE
Wife-Whipping in Delaware	98
John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, Clashing with Massachusetts Magistrates	99
Massachusetts the Only Colony that Hung Quakers	99
Mary Fisher Starting for Jerusalem	100
Oriental Courtesy to the Insane	100
Tolerance of the Ottoman Empire	100
"Better the Turk Than the Spaniard," Said the Dutch	100
Hudson's Half Moon Named for the Turk	100
Whittier's Poem on Smyrna	100
The Quaker Faith	100
Death of Fox	100
Whittier Sponsored by William Lloyd Garrison	101
Whittier on the Death of Quakers	102
Deborah Wilson, the Quaker Preacher	103
Typical New England Meeting House	103
The Southwicks in the House of Bondage	104
Rev. Charles Chauncey's Anathemas	105
The Puritan Crime Against Cassandra	106
Goldsmith and Shattuck, "the Devil"	107
Endecott Receiving the King's Missive	108
The Quaker Poet's Interpretation	108
The King's Missive	112
Endecott Freeing the Quakers	113
Longfellow's Poem on the Quakers	114
The Tory Spirit in Joseph Dudley	114
Richard Upsall's Soliloquy	114
William Penn	115
Charles II. Deeding Penn-Sylvan	116
The Treaty Tree	116
The Inner Light	116
The Indian Never Killed a Quaker	117
President Dunster's Fear of Quakerism	117
The Quaker Militant vs. Quaker Altruism	118-119

CHAPTER IV

COMING OF THE BAPTISTS—THE AMERICAN INDIAN— JOHN ELIOT

A Leaf of Baptist History	120-122
King Philip's War	136-172
More Trouble Makers	128

	PAGE
Living up to the Charter	130
Weakling Indian Tribes the Converts	130
Harvard Takes a Hand in Indian Education	129
Massasoit Eschews the Wigwam	130
Success of Jesuit Missionaries	130-132
Indian Psychology	132
Underlying Indian Hatred Culminates in King Philip's War	133
Picturesque Characters of the Seventeenth Century	140
The Narragansetts Destroyed as a Nation	140
Capture of White Women and Its Outcome in Some Cases	142
Waterloos of the Indian	142, 145, 147
Scene of the Narragansett Swamp Fight	148
History of the Three Regicides	150
Cowardice of King Philip	155
Benjamin Church, the "Big White Chief"	160
The Pilgrims' Treatment of Dartmouth Indians a Disgrace to the Whites	160
Red Man's Method of Tomahawking His Prey	163
Financing Plymouth's War Debt	164
African Slavery in Plymouth Days	164
New England's Profitable but Nefarious Trade	166
Le Barran, "The Nameless Nobleman," Becomes a Plymouthite	170
Death an Enigma to the Pilgrim and Puritan	172
From Footstoves to Epitaphs	172

CHAPTER V

BOSTON REVOLUTION—ROYAL GOVERNORS—WITCHCRAFT

Blazing the Bay Path Westward	174
Pynchon's Return to England	175
Swing from Monarchy to Commonwealth	176
American Colonization Languishes	176
Charter Wreckers Blocked	177
Day of Reckoning	177
Seventeenth Century "Captains of Industry"	177
High-Handed Methods of New England Colonists Attract England's Attention	178
Attempted Enforcement of Navigation Laws	178
Cancellation of the Royal Charter	179
Question of Land Tenure	180
Saving Connecticut's Charter	181
Clash of Andros with Colonists	181

CONTENTS

xi

	PAGE
Andros Imprisoned	182
British Free Churchmen	183
William of Orange at Torbay	185
Boston's Bloodless Revolution	185
Dutch Precedent Followed by England when the Master Becomes the Servant	185
Consequence to the Colonies of Andros' Overthrow	186
First Poetess of New England	187
Increase Mather Obtains a New Charter Dated 1691 and Signed by William III., the Reformed Churchman	188
New England's Ten Royal Governors	189-195
Witchcraft in New England	195-215
Aftermath of Witch Days	215
Last Execution for Witchcraft in 1693	217
Mather's Life Skeletonized	218-229
Burial Card of Admission to Sir William Phips' Funeral	221
Cotton Mather Speaks His Mind	222-224
Aftermath of Waldron's Perfidy with the Indian	228
Plymouth Escapes Taint of Witchcraft Through Mental Freedom Learned from the Dutch	228-230
John Wesley a Firm Believer in Witchcraft	230

CHAPTER VI

LAWS—CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG—FRENCH ARMADA DESTROYED—DEPORTATIONS OF ACADIANS

Thomas Dustin's Predicament	232
Hannah Dustin's Unmatched Courage	233
Peculiar Plymouth Laws	233
Forms of Punishment	235-238
Pious Doggerel of the New England Primer	238
John Calvin Consigns the Human Family to the Doom of Gloom	239
Possible Misjudgment of Calvin's Ideas	239
Hell-Flaming Verse Rampant by Wigglesworth and Others	239
Compassion Overcomes Logic (or lack thereof)	240
Fifty-Two "Fathers" of the Nation	241-245
"One Hoss Shay" Days	247
"Dollar a Day" Man of New England	247
Angularity Versus Curves	250
Town Talk Raid of "Slippers"	251
New England's "Book of Knowledge" of the Eighteenth Century	252
"Our Forefathers' Song" as Perpetuated by Word of Mouth	253

	PAGE
Sukguttahha Holds Its Own	254
The Popular "Horn Book"	255
Ménu of Pilgrim Days	256
Smock Marriages	258
"Bundling"	258
Capture of Louisburg	262
Terrific Consequences of Rev. Thomas Prince's Prayer	265
Revolutionary Supplies Obtained from the Dutch	270
Deportation of Acadians	273-278
Longfellow's "Evangeline"	275
New England Fails in Christianity	279

CHAPTER VII

NEWSPAPERS—GREAT AWAKENING—REVOLUTION—RÉSUMÉ

First New England Newspapers	282
Old Ideals Made Obsolete	288
Achievement the Keynote	288
Two Great Trading Corporations	288
New Atmosphere Bred by Free Printing and Scientific Inquiry	288
The World Aflame	290
"The Adam and Eve"	290
"Boston News Letter"	290
First Feminine Journalist	291
"Go to Halifax"	291
Puritanical Spirit Spreads Broadcast	292
South Carolina Upholds Slavery	292
The Margravate of Azilia	293
American History Repeats Ancestral Strains of Europe	295
First Assembly in America	295
John Smith's Epitaph	296
Huguenots Acted as "Yeast in the Dutch Cake"	298-299
Coming of the Irish	300
Oldest Huguenot Church in America	300
Conquest of the North American Continent	300
Freedom from Priestcraft Helped Win the Victory	300
The French in Canada	301
Unarmed Frontier Three Thousand Miles Long	302
Birthplace of Earthquakes	302
Cotton Mather's Fertile Imagination	304
Governor Bellomont and Captain Kidd	306
Piracy	306

CONTENTS

xiii

	PAGE
Boston Stirred by George Whitefield in "The Great Awakening"	308
Lights of the American Pulpit	309
Toryism Pilloried	311
Boston Tea Party	313
Pilgrim Method of Meeting Issues	314
The War Ball Set Rolling	315
Home Guard Sentiments	317
Colonies Bound as "with Hooks of Steel"	320
The Fox Sisters and Margaret Rule	320
Cyclic-Coincidences of Eighty-Six Years	320-321
"The Crossed Swords"	322
"Tarred and Feathered and Carried in a Cart"	323
Résumé	324-360

ADDENDA

WHICH INCLUDES THE TERCENTENARY MEMORIALS IN AND OF PLYMOUTH LAND

The Unshackling of the Race	361
Members of the Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission	361
The Plymouth Pageant Portrayed by Professor George Pierce Baker	361
Religious, Financial, Commercial, and Industrial Interests	361
Plymouth and Coale's Hills, and Prayer Meeting Rock	362
Working Out of Oliver Wendell Holmes' Ideal Expressed in 1855	362
Elder Thomas Faunce's Identification of the Rock	364
The Two Journeys of Plymouth Rock and Its Final Resting-Place	364
The Three Cycles	367
Placing the Pilgrim Bones in the Cement Casket	367
Oliver Wendell Holmes' Endorsement as to the Identity of the Pilgrim Bones	368
Inscription on the Sarcophagus	369-370-371
The Story of Provincetown	370
Events Leading to the Death of Ann Hutchinson	374
Memorials to Our Ancestors in Pilgrim Land	375
Windows in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., Memorializing the Forefathers	377-384
Memorials in Stone, Bronze, Gold, and Silver	385
Concise History of the Lutherans of America	392-399
Errata	400
Credited Illustrations	400
Index	403

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME III

CHAPTER I

PEQUOT WAR—NEW SETTLEMENTS—INNER LIFE OF PILGRIM AND PURITAN—ANN HUTCHINSON

	PAGE
Elder Brewster's First Sermon in the Community House . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Nearing the Fifthly	4
In Days When the Clergy Ruled	4
Engulfing Good Resolutions	7
Sousing the Brazen-Tongued Tattler	8
In the Stocks for the Good of the Town	9
A Bilboe from Spain	9
Curly Locks in the Pillory	9
Heckling the Victim	9
Punishment of the Scold	10
The Spanish Garotte	10
The Labeled Drunkard	10
Reforming Young Impish Pilgrims	10
Plan of Harvard College	13
Portrait of John Eliot	17
Title to the Indian Bible	17
Eliot's Indian Spelling Book	17
1651 Edition of Ainsworth's Psalms	18
Mount Desert	19
Mount Desert Harbor	19
Viewing Maine	19
Statue of Sir Harry Vane	20
Recapture of Oldham's Vessel	21
Discovering the Dead Man	21
Roger Williams Canoeing in a Storm on Narragansett Bay	23
Roger Williams Checkmating the Pequots	23
Endecott Battling with the Block Island Indians	25
John Underhill's Drawing of the Pequot Fight	28
Captain Mason's Route in Pursuit of the Indian	29
John Underhill's Grave	30
Block Island	30
The Puritan Invasion of Connecticut	31
Death of Ann Hutchinson	31
The Split Rock Near Ann Hutchinson's Home	33

<i>ILLUSTRATIONS</i>		<i>xv</i>
		<i>PAGE</i>
Autographs of Charles De Latour and Aulnay		38
Letter of Jonathan Brewster		41
Hooker Entering Connecticut		42
Puritans in the Connecticut Valley		43
Mrs. Thomas Hooker Carried into Connecticut on a litter		44
Map of Settlements		45

CHAPTER II

CROMWELL—NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERACY OF 1643—DEATH OF PILGRIM LEADERS

Stopping of Cromwell's Emigration to America	48
Cromwell Moralizing Over the Body of Charles I.	48
Cromwell, the Man of Iron	49
John Winthrop of Connecticut (statue)	50
John Winthrop's Water Mill	51
Cromwell Refusing the Crown	52
Cromwell and John Milton, His Secretary	53
General Lambert	53
Cromwell Leading a Charge at Marston Moor	53
Cromwell's Portrait	53
Cromwell Unnerved at the Death of His Daughter	53
General Ireton Who Subdued Ireland	54
Cromwell's Installation as Lord Protector	54
Cromwell Dissolving the Long Parliament	55
Cromwell's Letter to John Cotton	55
Superscription to John Cotton	56
General-at-Sea Blake	57
Autographs of Twelve Puritan Ministers	58
Signatures of Eighteen Puritan Ministers	59
Execution of Miantonomoh	60
Autograph of Miantonomoh	60
Autograph of Uncas	61
Monument to Uncas	61
Sign of a Boston Inn	62
Sign of the Green Dragon	62
Boston Business Signs	62
Samuel Gorton Before Governor Coddington	63
Attack on Gortonites	64
Dragging the Condemned to the Scaffold	65
Leaf from a Bradford Book	67

	PAGE
Document Signed by Edward Winslow	68
William Bradford's Signature	68
"Hypocrisy Unmasked" by Edward Winslow	69
"New England's Salamander" by Edward Winslow	69
Tombstone of Josiah Winslow and His Wife Penelope	70
Edward Winslow and Elizabeth Barker's Marriage Intention	71
Fleet Prison, Where Edward Winslow Was Confined for Seventeen Weeks	72
Execution of Strafford	73
Two of the Three Fleeing Pastors, Hooker Being the Third (portraits)	73
Emerson's Home at Concord	74
The Intying of Ralph Waldo Emerson with Plymouth	74
Statement by Emerson's Grandsire, a Witness of the Battle of Concord .	75
Grave of Myles Standish	77
Statue of Myles Standish and His Probable Grave	77
A Door of the Standish House	78
Statue of William Bradford	79
Marriage Certificate of William Bradford and Dorothy May	80
Dutch Document in Which William Bradford Is Named	81
A Bradford Family Record	81
Dutch Document Signed by William Bradford	81
Governor Bradford's Monument	82
Entablatured Boulder Locating Governor Bradford's Farm	83
Union Meeting of the Confederacy in 1643	84
Swashbucket Footgear	85
Charles II (portrait)	85
Exponent of Dame Fashion	85
Pine Tree Shilling	86
Execution of Charles I	86
Publication Showing William Penn's Title to Pennsylvania	87

CHAPTER III

THE QUAKER IN NEW ENGLAND

Humphrey Norton Gagged	90
Signature of Governor Thomas Prentice	91
Signature of John Winthrop	94
Stage Coach of Colonial Times	94
"The Heart of N. England Rent at the Blasphemies of the Present" .	95
The Story of Quakerism in New England	97
Governor Van Twiller	97

<i>ILLUSTRATIONS</i>		xvii
		PAGE
Unmarked Graves of Quakers Executed on Boston Common . . .		99
Mary Dwyer Going to Execution		99
Mary Fisher Before the Sultan		99
Letter of George Fox		101
Portrait of Whittier		102
Endecott Cutting the Cross from the King's Colors		104
Old Town Church, Newbury		105
Quakers Doing Their Duty as They Saw It		105
Cassandra Southwick on the Auction Block		106
Shattuck "The Devil" on His Way to Disconcert Governor Endecott		109
Whipping Quakers in Boston		111
Quakers Freed From Jail		113
Edward Rawson and Rev. Thomas Shepherd's Autographs		115
William Penn Making His Famous Treaty		115
Autograph of Henry Dunster, Harvard's First President		116
Ann Burden, the Quakeress		116
The Quaker in 1922		117
William Penn's Autograph		118
William Penn's Book Plate		118
"New England's Spirit of Persecution"		118

CHAPTER IV

COMING OF THE BAPTISTS—THE AMERICAN INDIAN— JOHN ELIOT

The Coming of the Baptists	121
Massasoit with His Two Sons	123
Weetamo, Sister of King Philip	123
John Eliot Preaching to the Indians	125
Autograph of Edward Randolph	128
Statue of John Harvard	129
King Philip Signing the Treaty of 1671	131
Two War Governors of 1676	134
Josiah Winslow's Letter to Governor Leverett	135
A Midnight Start to Attack Indians	137
Off for Weymouth to Fight with Massachusetts Tribes	139
"Shall I Kill, Adopt, or Enslave?"	140
Wiping Out the Narragansetts	141
Benjamin Church at Tiverton Point	143
Benjamin Church (portrait)	144
Monument at Bloody Brook	144

	PAGE
Robert Treat's Signature	145
Fleeing from Indians	145
The Block House	146
Maturity and Childhood Bible-led	146
Site of Narragansett Conquest	149
King Philip's Weapons	149
William Goffe Rescuing Hadley	150
Clash of Paleface and Redskin (group of pictures)	151
Cave of the Regicides, New Haven	152
The Neck Bridge	152
Balking the Terror that Crept from the Forest	153
Portrait and Autograph of William Goffe	153
Death of King Philip	154
Mount Hope	155
First Scene of King Philip's War (map)	156
Second Scene of King Philip's War (map)	156
Increase Mather (portrait)	158
"The Wicked Man's Portion," by Rev. Increase Mather	158
John Cotton's Signature	159
Enslaving the Indian at Plymouth	161
King Philip's Autograph	162
"To Be Sold as Slaves"	165
Deck Plans of a Slaver	165
The Slave Ship	166
The Advanced Seven Who Gave the Negro One Hundred Years of Freedom	169
Cuban Bloodhound	171
The One Square Pew in the Early Hingham Church	172

CHAPTER V

BOSTON REVOLUTION—ROYAL GOVERNORS—WITCHCRAFT

The Bay Path Travelled by Pynchon	174
William Pynchon's Portrait	175
William Pynchon's Book	175
Haynes' Autograph	177
Thomas Dudley's Autograph	177
Portrait and Autograph of Andros	179
Seal of Andros	180
Bostonians Insulting Andros	181
The Charter Oak	182

ILLUSTRATIONS

xix

	PAGE
The Connecticut Charter	182
John Allyn's Autograph	183
The Connecticut Charter Disappears	183
Andros' Attempt to Escape	184
Petition of Andros, Dudley, and Others	184
Landing of William of Orange at Torbay	185
Queen Anne's Portrait	186
Sarah Churchill's Portrait	186
Poems of Ann Bradstreet, "The Tenth Muse"	187
William III, Portrait and Autograph	187
Joseph Dudley's Petition to the Authorities	188
Dutch Ships	189
Seal of William III	189
The Royal Governors (portraits and autographs)	190-191
James I (portrait)	194
Witch Hill in Salem	196
Witches on Broomsticks and in the Air	198
The Witchcraft Bill Signed by Governor Phips and the Signatures of the Judges Who Condemned Their Fellow Citizens	201
Witch Pins	202
John Alden's Son Accused of Witchcraft	202
William Stoughton, New England's Witchfinder General	204
Cotton Mather Demanding the Death of George Burroughs	206
The Hag Informer	207
Thunder Storm that Aided in Hanging George Burroughs	208
Rev. Nicholas Noyes Calling His Parishioners "Firebrands of Hell"	209
Mary Daniels' Arraignment	210
Martha Corey Refusing to Recant	211
Arraignment of Giles Corey as a Witch	213
Trial of William Bassett and His Wife	213
"Shall We Tear Her in Pieces, Neighbors?"	214
"Away with Ye, or I'll Curse Ye!"	215
The Witch of Colonial Salem	219
Burial Card of Governor Phips	221
Cotton Mather (portrait)	224
The John Cotton Chapel	226
Cotton Mather's "Magnalia"	227
Title of the First Book Printed in Boston	228
Death of Major Waldron, and His Autograph	228
The Mather Dynasty	229
The Plymouth Patent	231

CHAPTER VI

LAWS—CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG—FRENCH ARMADA
DESTROYED—DEPORTATION OF ACADIANS

	PAGE
Monument to Hannah Dustin	232
The Dustin Tragedy	233
The Stocks	235
Reading the Scold into the Flood	235
"Plug Him Again, Hezy; Towser, Don't Bite, It May Pizen Ye."	235
A Low Down Crime Evidently Called for a Lowly Posture	235
A Horrible Example to Sedate Matron and Town Tattler	236
Penitential Thoughts	237
Not "Why Did I Do It?" but "Why Was I Found Out?"	237
Father and Lad Gazed in Awe When the Village Magnate Clattered Down the Street	238
Thus Signed the Author of "The Day of Doom"	239
The Fifty-two Leaders Who in Fathering New England Built Greater Than They Planned	241-42-43-44-45
Hugh Peters, Who Lost His Head	246
Dame's School, Where Kitchen Mechanics Sandwiched the Three Rs	247
Essentials to Comfortable Colonial Living	248
Household Treasures of Pilgrim and Puritan	249
A Spelling Bee	250
The Country School of Early Times	250
The Peruked Pedagog	250
A Peep at the School Boy of Long Ago	250
School Committee Trying Out Teacher and Pupils	251
The New England Primer	252
The Tithing Man	253
Matchlock Gun	253
Flintlock Gun	253
The Tithing Man Startled the Sleeper	254
Horn Book of Colonial Times	255
Colonial Times (Peregrine White Candlesticks)	257
Reading the Thanksgiving Proclamation	259
Crude Colonial Drawings Barren of Perspective	260-261
Governor Shirley, Sir William Pepperrell, and Historic Scenes of the Capture of Louisburg	263
The Iron Cross Captured from Louisburg	264
Surrender to English Colonies of Louisburg	265
The Old South Escapes the Fire King	266

VI

—FRENCH ARMADA
OF ACADIANS

	PAGE
.	232
.	233
.	235
.	235
e, It May Pizen Ye."	235
Lowly Posture	235
Town Tattler	236
.	237
Found Out?"	237
illage Magnate Clattered	
.	238
Doom"	239
w England Built Greater	
. 241-42-43-44-45	
.	246
edwiched the Three Rs .	247
.	248
.	249
.	250
.	250
.	250
Pupils	251
.	252
.	253
.	253
.	253
.	254
.	255
cks)	257
.	259
re	260-261
d Historic Scenes of the	
.	263
.	264
.	265
.	266

	PAGE
Lord Shaftesbury (portrait)	294
The Virginia Assembly	295
John Smith's Epitaph	296
Proclamation to Virginia	297
Medal Given to King Potomack by James II.	298
Champlain Battling the Iroquois	298
Columbus Off Our Coast	299
Lord Bellomont (portrait and autograph)	303
Arrest of Captain Kidd	303
Low's Flag	303
Wreck of the Whidah	303
Pirates Who Menaced New England Shipping	305
John and Charles Wesley, Jonathan Edwards and Whitefield (portraits and autographs)	307
A Puritan Filling "Nightcaps"	308
Franklin Autographs	309
Benjamin Franklin (portrait)	310
Paul Revere's Concept of the Stamp Act	311
The Dutchman Gave Form to the Pilgrim Windmill	312
Provincetown Environs	312
Destroying Tea in Boston Harbor	313
Letter of John Harrington, Last Survivor of Lexington Minute Men	314
Stamps that Set the War Ball Rolling in 1775	315
Tax Stamp	316
John Adams (portrait and autograph)	318
James Otis, Jr. (portrait)	318
James Otis (autograph)	319
Swords that Crossed in War and Peace	323
Signing the Pilgrim Compact	325
Governor Vane with the General Court Founding Harvard College	326
Leyden Street, Plymouth, Mass.	327
A Plymouth Alley	327
Viewing the Sand Dunes from Off Shore	328
Letters from Home Land	328
Letter of Governor Thomas Prence	329
The Blessing Before and After Meals	329
Signing the Compact in the Mayflower Cabin	330
John Alden and Priscilla Mullen	331
Myles Standish, Lorea, and Hobomok	331
Ducking Scene, the Victim Usually a Woman	332
St. Botolph's at Boston, England	333
Thatched Roof Church in Boston, Mass.	333

CHAPTER I

PEQUOT WAR—NEW SETTLEMENTS

INNER LIFE OF PILGRIM AND PURITAN—ANN HUTCHINSON

SO CLOSELY were the fortunes of the Plymouth Pilgrims intertwined with those of the Baye Colony, that Puritan methods and their manner of meeting issues even in minor affairs virtually influenced the Separatists to a notable degree. Nevertheless, the Pilgrim gripped hard his ground-work principles, never losing sight of his ideals, which were in advance of those of the Puritans. John Robinson, their pastor, had sounded the keynote of the long and glorious harmonies of true progress into the modern world and beyond, when he made his people look for "more light to break out of the Divine Word." The Bible was a living book for these "sons of the morning," whose true children ever lift their eyes for a yet more glorious day.

Both charter and Bible gave the Puritan the right to banish malcontents, which he frequently did with religious zest. The possession of that Charles I charter of 1628 nurtured Puritan independence, and gave the Pilgrim added reinforcement against the Mother country's interference.

Yet the Puritan system, which allowed the right of suffrage to church members only, had in itself the tendency to engender hypocrisy, which it cannot be denied in too many instances was accomplished. The best as well as the worst were excluded from dropping into the church ballot-box the grain of corn, that meant "Yes," or the bean, that stood for "No"—echoes from the Roman method of using a black bean in the box for execution and a white one for freedom—an emblem of life unto life and death unto death. Nevertheless, any form of religion founded upon the Bible has, like that progressive revelation, self-expurgative power. The "veritas"

broke through its sheath for the nobler growth, in modern days, not only locally in New England, but most gloriously over the west, even to the Pacific shore. "Like apples of gold in pictures of silver" seems the moral and religious fruitage of schools, colleges, universities, churches, manners and customs in what was once the Far West. What appears as an anomaly in history—the creation of numerous commonwealths springing into fully organized life, without passing through long stages of savagery and barbarism—is in reality the direct fruit of the Puritan renovation of the English-speaking world—using here the word "Puritan" not as meaning a local sect, but as the new mind of humanity fed by an open Bible.

Governor Dudley, writing to the Countess of Lincoln, gives a homely picture of Puritan life as seen in his roystering household when he says he is writing on his knee by the fireside in the midst of his family who "break good manners, and make me many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not." He wrote also that he had "no leisure to review and insert things forgotten, but out of due time and order must set them down as they come to memory." Yet of such conditions existing in these cradle days of the American Republic, we have the mirror in most families today, where there are young folks with an overflow of animal spirits. Evidently the Puritan home was not as sombre as some imagine, if one of the sternest Puritans thus acknowledged the existence of abundant domestic merriment.

Exclusiveness marked the Puritan. He ever proposed to cultivate industry and home talent. The traveling salesman's stay was therefore made brief.

Shopkeepers, not residents of the town, were barred from doing business and visitors who lingered over fourteen days were unceremoniously hustled on their way. Evidently the spirit of the modern protective tariff was in the air. In 1633 one finds market day and lecture day falling on Thursday, both economy and convenience thus being served.

AND PURITANS

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NEARING THE "FIFTHLY"
IN LATER COLONIAL DAYS.

sionally sat on the pulpit stairs within range of the tithing man's tipstaff. When the sermon was drawing to a close, with slow depletion of the falling sand, the sexton instead of gently twitching the domine's coat-tails, stalked down the aisle and turned the hour glass—a sign that another tedious hour had fled. His demure face may possibly have concealed a smile, and his service was doubtless to the joy of the younger generation. Even to this day, in most

of the older church edifices in Europe, the sexton performs many details of service for the minister in and about the pulpit that are unknown among us. Yet it would be absurd in these days of over-abundant literature to judge either preacher or hearer according to modern feelings or standards.

The main decorations of these meeting-houses were not crosses, crucifixes, images, carvings, or paintings of Bible scenes. In some cases the heads of wolves were nailed to the outside walls—it being a righteous deed to subdue the earth by diminishing the number of wild beasts, and replenishing the sheepfold. The bounty, so welcome to the itching palms of those who were good shots,



IN DAYS WHEN THE CLERGY RULED.

X

was gladly paid. The boy's favorite story-book of that day told of the exploits of young David, who frustrated the designs of the wild beasts upon the mutton and wool supply. When Puritans read in the twenty-third verse, fifth chapter, of Amos, "I will not hear the melody of thy viols"; the Elect at first threw out of the meeting-house all musical instruments. Nevertheless, in time their descendants brought back into the house of God the instruments by which they made "a joyful noise unto the Lord" and even knew and practiced the fine art of singing "unto the Lord a new song."

The Puritan* never could quite understand why the Old Testament prophets as well as the New Testament apostles and worthies were not designated as saints—a word which he knew very well meant "whole" or "healthy"—which all Christians ought to be, to the Puritan way of thinking.

Matthew, Mark, Luke and John had no more right to the distinction than Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, or indeed any other sinners saved by grace. They carried this dislike so far as to omit this ecclesiastical prefix, whether at worship, in conversation, or in geography. St. Thomas and St. Catherine Islands were known as Thomas and Catherine Islands.

It is an interesting index to thought to contrast the names of places in Canada, Spanish America or Southern Europe with those on the map of New England.

In these days the mother country gave the colonies little aid and they fought their own wars unassisted; this experience stood them in good stead when they crossed swords with the Frenchman whose country urged him to a stalwart but vain resistance. Long was the struggle for the North American Continent between two types of civilization, the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon, as represented by France and England, the former striving to keep the English colonists shut up east of the Alleghenies, while they

*While the line between Pilgrim and Puritan is clearly drawn, their acts often paralleled.

held Canada and the Mississippi at its mouth. The Sons of Old Albion, with self-government and sea-power, won the prize.

Pilgrims and Puritans of the weaker sort took chances occasionally of wrecking the traditional form of hope in a heavenly home by being drawn into the vortex of Dutch frivolity from Saturday evening to Monday morning. At times these light-hearted, and possibly light-headed folks drifted for days to Boston Town, of the gaiety of which more than one colonial author complained in diatribes, closely or remotely picturing scenes which with broad license sprang from the brush of Dutch artists. However, the great majority of colonists were as sensitive to conscience as to honor, thought straight, and acted as they saw the light of truth which led them to avoid even the appearance of evil, or unseemliness. "For example's sake" was their plea—even to severe self-denial. In this the man and the woman under all outward guises, whether monk or nun, heretic, Puritan, Rationalist—whatever called—were one.

These two colonists, though in caricature, represent the types of being with whom the Puritan, like the disciplinarian in army, navy, or on the judge's bench, had to deal. We may be sure the backslider of either sex in almost every case was severely punished.

That there were years when the faith of the fathers failed to curb Old Adam is in all charity to be whispered, but not proclaimed on the housetops. Close "listening in" reveals the wave of unrest, following the habits prevalent in those straight-laced years, that engulfed many a good resolution and wrecked many a home.

That famed writer of ancient times, who well said "When the sun shines, never mind the spots," enthroned optimism as the sovereign of life. Certainly among the Pilgrims the festival of coronation was long and joyfully kept.

The possibility of infant salvation under adverse condi-



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ENGULFING GOOD RESOLUTIONS.

tions was long a mooted point. To be born of parents who were church members secured everlasting felicity. It eliminated the possibility of the soul's loss, in case of death before the rite of salvation was performed. These were the "elect infants dying in infancy." All other babes "a span long" were condemned as lost. The Divine Mercy "passed them by." With any such fate staring their progeny in the face, the Puritan fathers soon became divided among themselves, and almost frantically leaped the religious barriers then in vogue. In fact, they began to suspect that such a dogma as the eternal loss of unconscious beings smacked too much of origin in the monasteries among celibates. "Could fathers or mothers ever have invented a doctrine like that?" they asked, looking into the cradle and into each other's faces. They could not, with all their searching, find this dogma in the Bible, though it is stereotyped in the Latin of the Middle Ages.

When wealth began to bulge Puritan coffers and policy and politics scaled higher in his thoughts, the religious conceptive standard was "lowered," as some thought, though not entirely displaced. Love of ease and gain softened and

curved these straight lines of living, which had been unswervingly staked out long before the days of Brewster, Bradford, Winslow, Endecott, Winthrop, and Dudley. In truth, many ideas and customs were taken over, along with



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SOUSING THE BRAZEN-TONGUED TATTLER

other mediæval inheritances, unknown to the early documents of Christianity, from the dogma-factory of "the fathers" and councils.

Tragedy frequently shrouded Puritan daily life. It is recorded that one mother loved her child so deeply as to snatch the babe from the edge of the baptismal font and jump overboard with it. Like old Radbod, who, a thousand years before, pulled his leg out of the immersion tank rather than be told that he had no ancestors or companions in heaven, the mother sacrificed her child's future glory to have its companionship in hell.

Akin to this was the social and altruistic spirit of St. Paul, who for the sake of his brethren could wish himself accursed, if need be. There is that seems to be sin, which is of holiness. Theology was ever a constant and prolific subject of discussion with the Elect.

To the skirts and doublets of our progenitors clung strange, crude customs, some few more curious than others.

When one drew rein, it might be at meal time, before a cabin on the outskirts of civilization, his host or hostess might ask "Do you wish your toast mumbled or crumbled?"

Drawing lots was often practiced along a well-worn Pilgrim path leading to the settlement of disputes. It is on record also that domestic animals were thus metaphorically split asunder through these lottery drawings. To have thirteen quasi-owners to one cow standing around at milking-time



IN THE STOCKS, FOR THE GOOD OF THE TOWN.



ONE OF THE BILBOES TAKEN IN THE ARMADA FROM BILBAO, SPAIN, TO SHACKLE ENGLISHMEN.



"CURLY LOCKS," IN THE PILLORY.



Lossing.

"NOW, WILL YOU BE GOOD, MISTER?" YELLED THE SQUIRMING URCHIN.

to see that there was no encroachment, tested thoroughly the milk of human nature in the Plymouth owners during the life of that cow.

Modern sarcasm frequently has it that the Puritan of New England claimed all the virtues, eschewing the vices,



PUNISHMENT OF THE SCOLD.

THE PILGRIM WAS NO RESPECTER OF PERSONS WHEN THE WRONGDOER REQUIRED PUNISHMENT.



THE SPANISH GARROTE THAT CHOKED CLOSE TO INSENSIBILITY.



THE DRUNKARD, LABELLED SO THAT ALL MAY SEE HIM, FACING HIS TORMENTORS.



REFORMING IMPISH YOUNG PILGRIMS.

even though as in Lincoln's story "the man with no vices has pesky few virtues." It cannot be gainsaid, however, that the Puritan was broadly educated and that he fostered insti-

tutions of learning at a time when a powerful sister colony, through her English governor, wrote:

"I thank God there are no free schools nor printing in Virginia, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing had divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!"

Likewise, when New Netherland became New York, the same sentiments put into force by an English governor ruled, for even England had no system of public schools sustained by taxation, until 1870, notwithstanding that in Scotland, from John Knox's time, and in the Netherlands from the twelfth century, popular education was general. The old so-called "public schools" of England were only for gentlemen's sons.

The town order for a school acknowledged both a personal Devil and a personal God, reading "whereas that old deceiver Satan hath for one of his chief devices to keep men in ignorance that they may not read and study God's sacred word, therefore be it ordered that a school be established to prepare students for college."

Aside from the three R's, the women of colonial times had very meagre educational facilities. The grammar school and the university were for the sterner sex and these as a rule exhausted all available resources, even to the last textbook, for the Puritan's thirst for knowledge was insatiate. Not until 1722 did the first woman teacher face the rising generation, in this case equipped with the New England Primer in one hand and a birch rod in the other. Her name was Tabitha Plastich, and she lived in Plymouth in a dwelling now known as "Ye Bradford Arms."

Only after the Revolution were girls admitted to public schools, even in the Old Bay State, though in those of New Netherland, from the very first, female education was prominent.*

All efforts of aristocrats to build up an exclusive nobil-

*In fact, archivists state that doubtless seventy-five per cent. of New Netherland women could write.

ity failed. The Puritans in a sense approved the coming of colonists of gentle blood, but only with hereditary honors, not powers. The Puritan's opinion of friend or foe, when put into force, was a blow given straight from the shoulder, hit whom it might. One outstanding exception, however, was in diplomacy, which was very near downright deception in the handling of that vital Charles I charter.

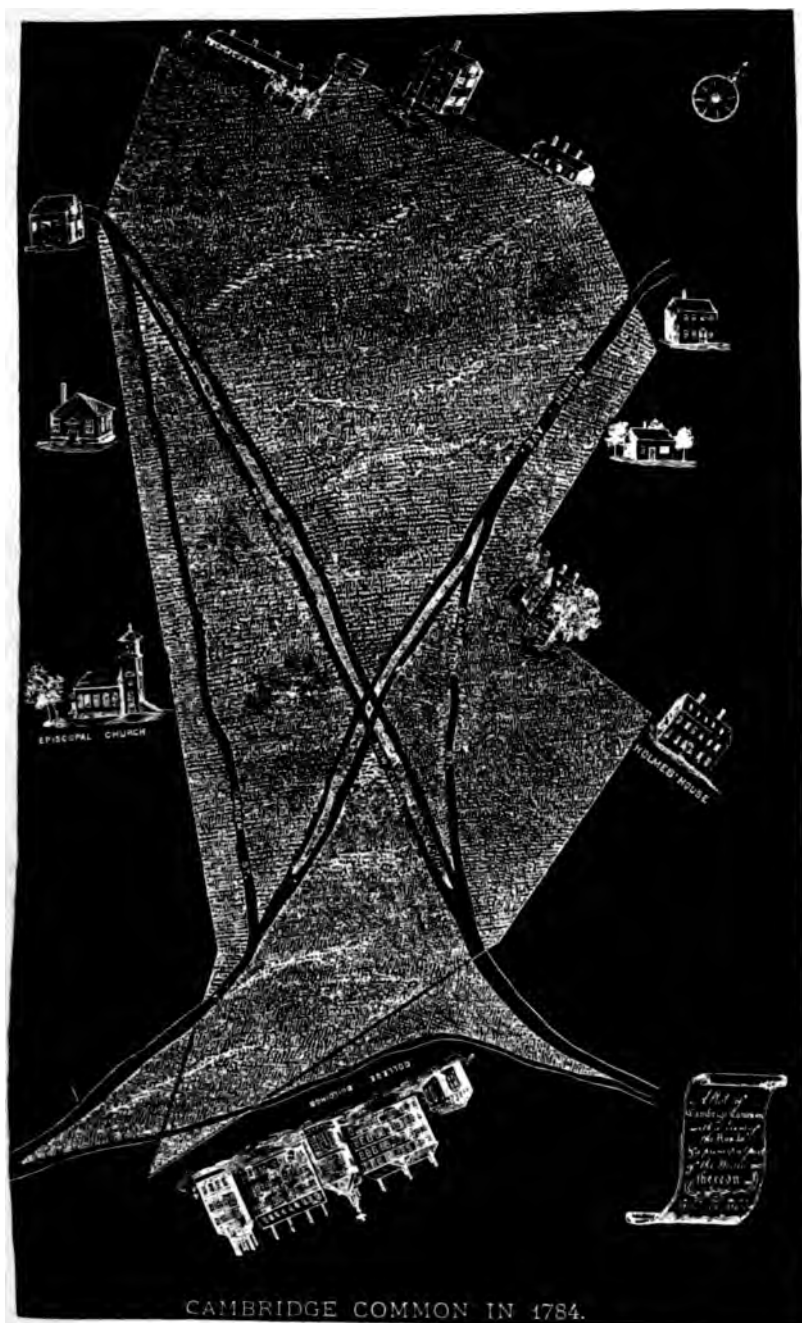
The Puritan's remarks on people and things, while often flowery, Biblical, and packed with picturesque Hebraic paraphrase, conveyed his meaning in direct fashion. So long as religion and law were intermingled, the former ever had the controlling vote and the church synod often became a final court of appeals for the settling of conflicts between people and courts.

Historically considered, this identification of religion and law was a reversion to ancient ideas, while the general course of the Pilgrims in separating religion from politics was that of progress.

Centuries back of Colonial times, in days when bishops under orders from higher authority ruled a large area of the Christian world, among other puzzling questions discussed by them was whether a woman is a human being. The same question bothered pagans, Brahmins, Buddhists, and Mohammedans. One primal argument against such a notion, as then considered, was that man was made in God's image, and aside from the realm of mythology, goddesses neither brightened nor darkened man's horizon. No wonder Christian and pagan went astray on this point, not allowing their females education. Their women were consequently slow in intellectual matters, but when given cultural advantages, behold the change! Women showed themselves mentally quickmates, as well as helpmates for man.

Governor John Winthrop writes of Harvard College:

"Nine bachelors commenced at Cambridge. They were young men of good hope, and performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts. (8) 5. The general court had settled a



CAMBRIDGE COMMON IN 1784.

FROM AN OLD PRINT.

religious books, chief among which was the historic Bay Psalm Book, in substance the duplicate of Ainsworth's Amsterdam edition. Its chief tunes have recently been harmonized for use in the twentieth century, and most appropriately, by a Hartford professor.*

Those religionists led in making a nation that in peace or war was able to preserve its own life. They burned their bridges as thoroughly as Cortez burned his ships. Seeking no aid from the Mother Country, they faced a wilderness to read jointly their Bibles and their heavenly titles clear. They held their services free from informers who so often in England had acted as sleuth-hounds, gathering evidence which landed the Pilgrim and his forebears in jail. During Elizabeth's long reign, sixty thousand Separatists were said to have been incarcerated—in some instances for many years.

Aside from these early Indian conflicts, from the years 1689 to 1815, New England well earned the title of the "home of the brave," for, of the one hundred and twenty-six years, sixty-four were spent in actual face to face and hand to hand struggle with the enemy, and sixty-three years in preparing and sloughing off. Threats of Indian invasion and war were breathed with the air by our ancestors for scores of years. Boys of all ages shared in a war spirit fostered by training and muster days, an invaluable aid in building up lusty fighters to meet the demands of the Revolution.

THE PILGRIMS IN MAINE

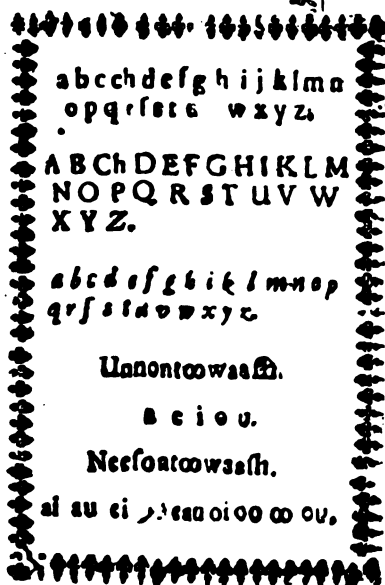
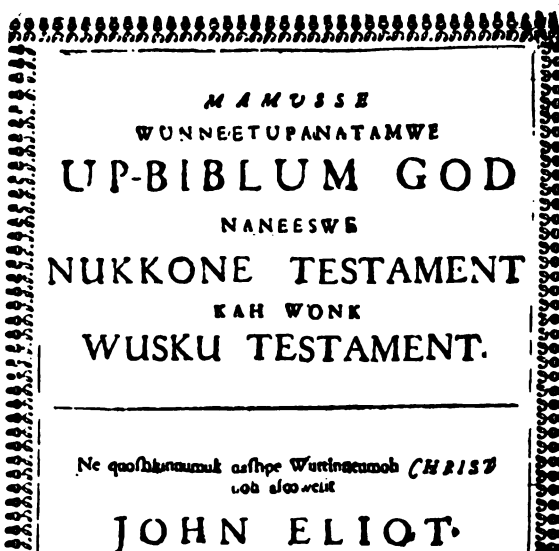
The Penobscot-Castine desert region was a bleak country during the larger part of the year; but fishermen and trappers found it a desirable trading-point at which to meet the Plymouth Pilgrim. This trade proved no small aid to the latter in enabling him to throw off the incubus of debt assumed when he "booked" reservations for Virginia on the Mayflower.

*Professor W. S. Pratt of Hartford, Connecticut.



John Eliot.

THIS PORTRAIT MAY
NOT BE ACCURATE
BUT IT IS ALL
THAT AMERICA
HAS.



Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Co.
ELIOT'S INDIAN SPELLING-BOOK.

CAMBRIDGE,
uoopaaſſhe Samuel Green k.ſ. Marmaduke Johnſon.
1663.

TITLE TO THE INDIAN BIBLE.¹

*Forſt & Sam. Cary
Both by their conſeſſion of
wiſd. to be Godly ſervants
of the church*

*John Eliot.
Samuel Danforth*

Mount Desert, today a summer rendezvous of the well-to-do, was then a welcome base for the restoration of the sea-weary, wave-wracked fisherman of Maine and Newfoundland and occasionally, a harbor for the Pilgrim storm-tossed trading and fishing shallop.



THIS RARE ISSUE OF AINSWORTH'S PSALMS WAS PRINTED IN CAMBRIDGE IN 1651.

In that influential year of 1636, Pilgrims added still another to the little family of firstlings that had claimed Plymouth Rock as their parent home and nest of infancy.

For fifteen years they made regulations as they did bread, from day to day, but the hour came for the Governor to hold a council to formulate laws suited to time, place and requirements, irrespective of what had gone before. Here was true independence of thought and action—a breaking away from precedent that must have chilled the blood of conservatives as they took this important step.

Unswerving line-hewing was a prime quality with Pilgrims, and it was for this reason that, in 1638, three

murderers were hanged, the fourth of the group slipping halter and fleeing the country. Accused of killing an Indian for a few wampum beads, the murder of said Indian by these men was never absolutely proved, though convincing to a fair majority. Yet in the interest of justice, these white men (two names have come down to us as Arthur Peach and John Barnes) were tried by a jury, which included Bradford, Winslow, Standish and Prence, and executed. This was done as an object lesson to the natives in square dealing. This lesson neither they, nor the relatives of those prematurely taken off ever forgot. Indeed, for years thereafter

the red man without questioning allowed his white brother to bring to trial and punish Indian criminals.

On August 15, 1635, the Lord talked in stentorian tones through that devastating hurricane that swept the Cape.



MOUNT DESERT, A HARBOR FOR
TEMPEST-RACKED PILGRIMS, TO-
DAY A SUMMER RESORT.

Cabins were unroofed and hundreds of thousands of trees uprooted. A tidal wave twenty feet high swept along the shore, forcing white man and Indian to scurry up the hillside and climb trees at record speed. To place responsibility for this vagary of nature in the right quarter and harmonize it with the goodness of God to his "chosen people" may have woefully puzzled some of the Pilgrims, jarring also the Indian's faith in his white brother's grip on the Great Spirit.

Extermination of a majority of the Pequots, in 1637, stopped oncoming Indian massacres and kept Pilgrim land inviolate from center to farthest border. Governor Harry Vane's sending of ex-Governor Endecott, the flag cutter and Quaker persecutor, to capture Block Island, was the first step in the driving out of the Pequots as a nation.

SIR HENRY VANE

"Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay 1636. Born 1612. Beheaded 1662. An ardent defender of civil liberty and advocate of free thought in religion. He maintained that God, law and parliament are



CLOSE BY THE MAINE HOLDINGS OF
THE PILGRIMS

superior to the King. This statue, fronting Boston Public Library, was placed here at the request of James Freeman Clark, D.D., an honored citizen of Boston who nobly labored for the abolition of slavery in America."



SIR HARRY VANE, MASSACHUSETTS' FORCEFUL TWENTY-FOUR-YEAR-OLD GOVERNOR.

A rarely beautiful character was that of Massachusetts' twenty-four-year-old Governor, whose "attractive activities" were freely admitted by Charles II even as he ordered Vane's death, which occurred June 14, 1662, in the virile words, "He was too dangerous to live." This was King Charles' last political contribution to martyrdom.

Though an apologetic recantation would have saved his life, Vane's answer to the profligate king's sentence when on the verge of the death plunge was "One thousand deaths for me, ere I will stain the purity of my conscience." The poet of all ages, in words that will live for all time, in these lines extolled the virtues of his friend, Sir Harry Vane, the

fearless Governor of Massachusetts:

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome, when gowns, not arms repelled
The fierce Epirot and the African bold,
Whether to settle peace or to unfold
The drift of hollow states hard to be spelled;
Then to advise how war may best, upheld,
Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold.
In all her equipage, besides, to know

Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
What severs each, thou hast learned. which few have done.
The bounds of either sword to thee we owe;
Therefore on thy firm hand religion leans
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son."



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OLDHAM'S VESSEL RECAPTURED
FROM THE INDIANS



DISCOVERING THE DEAD MAN.

The killing of John Oldham, while sailing near Block Island, and the capture of his trading vessel by Indians, helped to incite that overwhelming attack on Block Island Indians. This was the last stepping-stone to the Pequot war, of which the sequence was a wider settlement of the fertile Connecticut valley.

As the savages refused to surrender the Indian murderers for punishment, war was finally declared by the whites. In spite of expertly handled matchlocks, Governor Endecott's attack on Block Island was a venture requiring courage. When reaching the beach, well-trained yeomen dealt fearful retaliation to the Indian defenders, whose only weapons were bows and arrows, though their reputation as unconquerable and cruel savages was widespread. Endecott's instructions from Governor Vane were to massacre all men, sparing women and children—instructions followed to the letter. Endecott drove the sword to the hilt and drenched its length with Indian blood.

John Gallup's act of bravery in recapturing this craft of John Oldham's with its owner's headless, gashed body, and

killing the Indian murderers, was an added incentive to the Pequots to take the warpath. Endecott thus offset the deaths of John Oldham and the renegade Captain Stone, the latter of whom once stole a Pilgrim vessel.

Famous for its wrecks, Whittier's "Isle of Manisees" guards the entrance to Long Island Sound, which has been the graveyard of many ships. Amid the cragged, storm-lashed rocks glistened the wave-washed and sand-scoured bones, not only of the humble Pilgrim fishing craft, but of the mighty war vessels of a great nation.

"Arched by waters that never freeze,
Beaten by billows and swept by breeze,
Lieth the Island of Manisees."

Block Island is named after the dauntless Dutch captain, who from his half-burned, partially submerged craft, as a model, constructed the *Onrust* on Manhattan, near 39 Broadway. The tradition as to place is unproved, though a tablet states it was that first colonial built vessel, the *Onrust* or *Restless*, which later became a surveying ship, on which in 1607 Block sailed into Plymouth's tortuous harbor a dozen years before the Pilgrim set foot on the famous Rock.

Roger Williams risked his life in a frail canoe during a storm on Narragansett Bay for that vital conference with the Pequot chieftains. The far-reaching outcome of his spiritual and physical courage was keenly appreciated by all Rhode Islanders and every advocate of liberty of conscience in the wide world. Less ability to guide his frail cockleshell boat amid the waves that threatened engulfment would have meant disaster. Undoubtedly Roger Williams' influence at the Narragansett conference, for which he made the dangerous trip, saved the lives of all colonists outside the protection of the larger towns.

One who in imagination pictures the scene reads in the faces of these men of the forest their sense of outraged manhood as they reluctantly yield to Williams' forceful, argumentative peace pleadings. Vengeance for them seemed a

duty which if not fulfilled would bring down upon them the wrath of the Great Spirit. For three days and nights Williams held the fort, combatted by those Pequot chiefs, who are portrayed as fairly yelling remonstrance against the fervid reasoning of this man of God. Yet even after Williams thus saved the lives and homes of many Puritans, standing by their colors and setting stakes, these blinded men of the Pharisee mind still called him a heretic and refused to rescind their



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ROGER WILLIAMS SPEEDING THROUGH THE STORM TO THAT NARRAGANSETT-PEQUOT CONFERENCE.

order banishing Williams from his life-long friends. Unconsciously, these Puritans, reverting to the mediæval spirit of Antichrist, were preaching the faith they once destroyed, heresy ever in their eyes being a fair second to rankest criminality. Whether persuading the Narragansetts to stand by the whites, arguing with an antagonistic king and an English parliament to grant Rhode Island a charter, or converting a savage, Roger Williams was a man of magnetism. It

was rarely that he over, under, or side-shot the mark at which he aimed. Well does Rhode Island, in her capital rear the statue of this typical just man—nameless, but named in hearts that admire; for the fame of Roger Williams is "deathless from the dead." The



Courtesy of Estes and Lauriat

ROGER WILLIAMS SWINGING THE NARRAGANSETTS FROM THE PEQUOTS TO THE COLONISTS.

"second Isaiah" is called the Great Unnamed. He can afford to be. There is no named prophet equal to him, so also the ideal man, on whose bronze effigy overlooking Providence City the sunlight first falls, needs no name, but Rhode Island's history reveals it.

These overt acts of Endecott on Block Island, coupled with the outreaching of the colonists, especially those of Massachusetts Bay, into Connecticut Indian territory, for more fertile fields and broader possessions could have but one result—Indian uneasiness over wholesale absorption of their lands, some tracts in reprisal being without purchase or gift. The sequel came in 1637 in that first organized uprising of the red man, the Pequot (Pequod) war. "Who would be free themselves must strike the blow," was the spirit of the Indian. Slaughter without quarter, massacre even of women and children by the white Christian was the drastic treatment given Indians, with compound interest for murdered colonists and burned cabins. Less than this punishment by the colonists it was thought would have meant a prolonged and sanguinary conflict, seriously retarding America's development—exactly the same sort of reasoning that resulted in the butchery of the Scots after the battle of Culloden, or as is seen today in the burning of negroes and in lynch law. Despite Spanish cruelty in other parts of America, the Spaniards converted, *not* exterminated the natives of the North.

A strong life-saving factor was the holding back of the Narragansett braves by Miantonomoh, through the influence of Roger Williams.

The scattered colonists would have been at the mercy of the savages, many of them armed by the Dutch traders with the guns of the whites, had the friendship for Williams of Miantonomoh and his son Canonchet faltered.

Nevertheless, the Indians might have quoted the very scriptures the white man professed to obey, "But I will maintain mine own ways." (Job xiii:15)

AND PURITANS

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At the time of the massacre of the Pequots by the Connecticut men the entire valley was but sparsely settled. In 1636 there were but two hundred and fifty men scattered along the Connecticut or Long River. The Pequots living on both sides of the Thames River far to the westward had ample space to hunt and fish, but "exterminate the white man wherever found" was this savage tribe's war cry that echoed through wigwam and forest glade. The answering cry of the white man was in the same spirit—which was not that of Roger Williams, Penn, or the Quakers, whom the Puritans persecuted.

Very slowly did the colonists decide to obliterate the fierce Pequot, and not until at least thirty settlers had been killed and scalped did John Mason, at the head of an improvised force, stealthily cross the Narragansett country, and, metaphorically burning his bridges, start north. In days when deeds of courage palisaded every settlement and isolated cabin, none shone brighter—in the light of brute courage bereft of Christian principle—than this attack against the Pequots. In the heart of an Indian country, with neither base of supplies nor reinforcement, death stalked behind these venturesome warriors and peered through crevices in the Pequot fort. Ten to one were the odds. The Reverend Thomas Hooker's inspired words from the Book of Books were ringing in their ears. when the little band of armed colonists rushed upon the fort, and defeated the Pequot nation. Let the facts be what they may, the Indian's side should be heard and many descendants of Mason have asked whether the spirit of Joshua and Judges, or that of the Teacher of the Beatitudes, was followed.

Lovewell's fighting squad always included a minister and a surgeon, the former to give thanks before and after meals, and beseech divine assistance in killing enemies, as well as to properly point out to the dying their only hope. Lovewell gave minister and surgeon ample opportunity to play their rôles, on one occasion killing ten Indians single

handed, bringing in their gory scalps and receiving the posted head-reward of fifty dollars each. John Lovewell, who, judged by his animus toward the Indian, should have been surnamed "Hatewell," proved an excellent second to Mason and Underhill in fighting records. Yet the grandchildren of these fathers wondered why the British Government offered two pounds each for their scalps. Did the act show progress in moral evolution?

Notes of those events in the settlement of our country were jotted down at the hour of their happening. The annihilation of Pequots, in their fort at Mystic, is thus described by one who, on that rare June day, in 1637, when brook and bird were well atune, saw the dreadful carnage. Of seven hundred braves, but five escaped; seven were made prisoners, the remainder killed. Over seventy wigwams were burned to the ground.

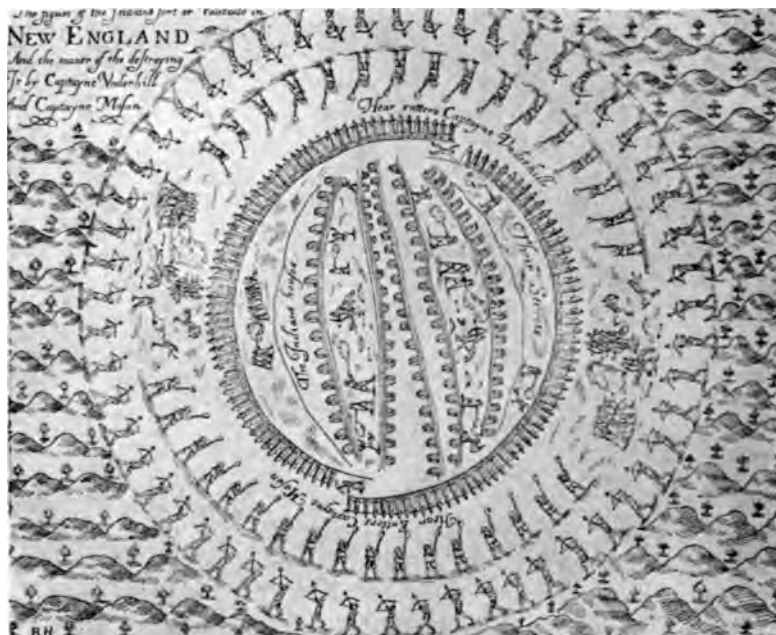
"It was a fearful sight to see them frying in ye fyer and ye streams of blood quenching ye same and horrible was ye stinck and sente thereof. The Narragansett Indians all this while stood round about but aloofe and from all danger and left ye whole execution to ye English except it were ye stoping of any yt broke away, insulting over their enemies in this their ruine and miserie when they saw them dancing in ye flames, calling them by word in their own language signifying O Brave Pequents!"

In this spirit, after the Connecticut colonists had been tortured at the stake, the two Puritan fighting Johns—Mason and Underhill—burned the seven hundred Pequots by setting their encampment on fire. The horror of this scene—some of the Indians being impaled on the stockade—has rarely been paralleled. In the glare of burning flesh and wood, the stern Puritan voiced these words of triumph:

"Thus was God seen in the mount, crushing his proud enemies," a sentiment which sounds like an echo from Canaan—when Jehovah was a tribal God, or like the piety of a Spanish burner of heretics. That Pequot slaughter is fa-

mous or infamous according to the verdict, based on one's viewpoint—whether seen through English or Indian eyes.*

The fact that the Indian fighter, John Underhill, could handle both the pencil and the sword is pictorially shown in



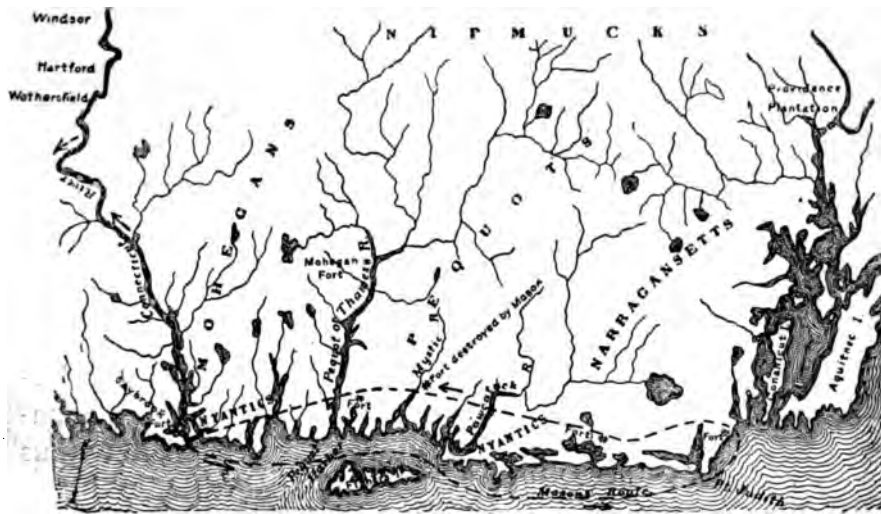
JOHN UNDERHILL'S DRAWING OF THE PEQUOT BATTLE.

Captain Underhill's allegorically quaint diagram of the Pequot fight.

Many of these Indian names spelled "massacre" to our ancestors, when only a family or even an individual was slain, according as the tribes of New England and the Hudson River valley were friends or foes. Whether in the Boston of 1774 or at Wyoming in 1778, the word on our side was "massacre," with the enemy it was "fair fight."

The three captain Johns—Lovewell, Mason and Underhill—thoroughly blood-streaked the year 1637. The last

* On the spot where the Pequots ended their career in 1637 in fire and blood, stands the superb Pequot Library, where is collected a wonderful series of colonial autographs and documents illustrating our early history.



CAPTAIN MASON'S ROUTE IN PURSUIT OF THE INDIANS.

was a marked man when, attempting to follow the teachings of Ann Hutchinson, he fell from the grace he claimed to have acquired, shielding his immoral misdeeds by arrant sophistry. Captain Underhill added to his prowess as an Indian fighter skill in capturing criminals at the behest of the authorities. He proved himself a model sheriff, except when Roger Williams, the Heretic-Missionary-Baptist, slipped by on that hurried journey to Rhode Island, escaping both the King's horses and the King's men.

Underhill's second martial exploit of note was to sail through Hell Gate, then up the Sound with one hundred and fifty men, land at Greenwich, Connecticut, attack an Indian village and slay all but five of its five hundred inhabitants.

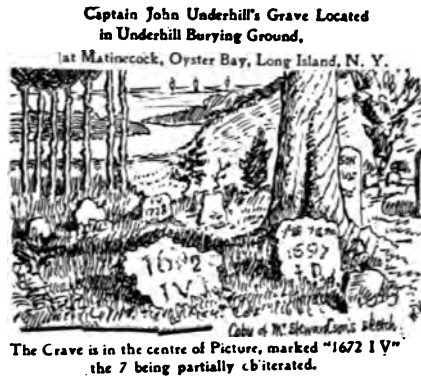
BANISHMENT OF ANN HUTCHINSON

Ann, wife of Edward Hutchinson, an advocate of the Doctrine of Grace, came from Atford near Boston, England.

Boldly did this remarkable woman oppose the iron-clad teachings of the Puritan Boston clergy—the hardened lava of the Reformation outburst. Setting aside one con-

demnatory statement of St. Paul, possibly meant only for a local instance: "It is a shame for women to speak in the church," and quoting again favorably from the great Apostle, "Aged women may teach the young women," the versa-

tile, argumentative and brilliant good dame Hutchinson insisted that these latter words meant a call for women to encroach on the field given over to the black-coated clergy, and to be heard in council. Mrs. Hutchinson thus fairly earned title to being the first known woman suffragist, who demanded also free-

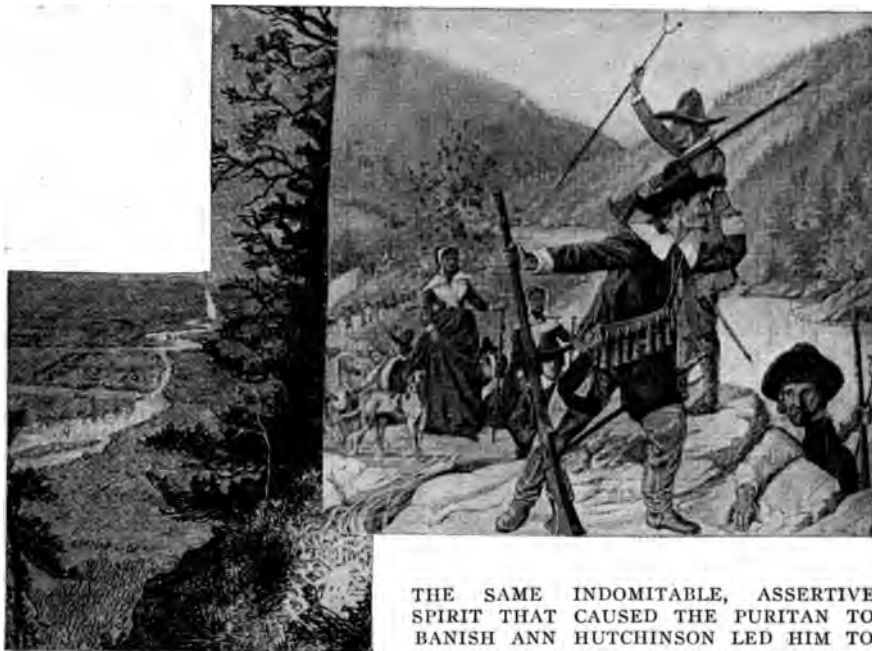


dom of religious thought, in the New World. From eighty to one hundred women gathered once a week to hear her repeat from memory the previous Sunday sermons, analyzing, querying and arrogantly dividing the sheep from the goats. The countryside stood by the old theology, the Reverend Thomas Welde of Roxbury being especially bitter, infamously calling Mrs. Hutchinson a "Jezebel." His brother, the Reverend John Welde, was afterward Mrs. Hutchinson's hectoring jailor, to the evident glee of the entire Welde family. Cotton Mather almost viciously proclaimed that vipers were hatched in the virago's house and some of the Elect solemnly believed this as the statement of a physical fact. Malignant thoughts flew fast.



BLOCK ISLAND

The town, in spite of anathemas of the clergy, was shaken to its center in favor of Mrs. Hutchinson, who promulgated the belief that her pastor, the Reverend John Cotton, worked for the Lord under a Covenant of Grace



THE SAME INDOMITABLE, ASSERTIVE SPIRIT THAT CAUSED THE PURITAN TO BANISH ANN HUTCHINSON LED HIM TO EXTEND HIS BORDERS AND ADVANCE INTO THE INDIAN COUNTRY LYING IN THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY. MANY A HARD-FOUGHT BATTLE WITH LORDS OF THE SOIL AND CLASHINGS WITH PILGRIM SETTLERS HAMPERED THIS ADVANCE.



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THE TOMAHAWKING OF ANN HUTCHINSON AT PELHAM, N. Y.

diploma and that all other domines save her brother-in-law, the Reverend John Wheelwright, were on a lower plane, laboring simply under a Covenant of Works; the latter class including the hitherto loftily pedestalled Reverend John Wilson.

We know that in a sense the domine was a grass-widower, as Mrs. Wilson evidently preferred English civilization to that which might exist amid the brambles and berry bushes on Shawmut peninsula. Therefore, John, the first of that clerical line of four, had neither the advantages nor the disadvantages of a helpmate in keeping his flock in still waters, or his parishioners in the straight and narrow path.

Wealth very probably made that first Puritan pastor in Boston, John Wilson, step no higher or march more grandly than became a Puritan minister, but to the Commoner, possibly the manner of his stride down the aisle gave added dignity to the office.

Reverend John Wilson on occasion was Mrs. Hutchinson's bitterest accuser. Frequently when he began to speak, one of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers would ostentatiously stalk down the broad aisle and out of the meeting-house. Such statements as are here quoted, when broadcasted by some of the good woman's followers, roused the ire of the Elect and fired to maddening point the pulpiteer.

"Come along with me; I'll bring you to a woman that preaches better Gospell than any of your black-coats that have been at the Ninnyversity, a woman of another kind of spirit, who hath had many revelations."

With delicious unction, the Puritan labeled both man and plan—from the Father of his Country, a title given to Washington first by the Pennsylvania Germans, to the Father of the Town—but it was harsh judgment that re-named Ann Hutchinson The American Jezebel. That leader of the Antinomians, while not ignoring works—in fact, out-working the entire community in charitable deeds—flew the



THE "SPLIT ROCK" NEAR WHICH ANN HUTCHINSON WAS TOMAHAWKED.

flag of faith at a loftier altitude. She said in substance "Enter the thought world, and climb higher than the materialist; sanctification gives justification." This the Puritan thought a beguiling heresy of extremes, dreamings, and unintelligible vaporings. "Proud and pestilent, laden with blasphemous and familistical opinions," was the danger hall-mark, stamped by the powers that be, on Ann Hutchinson's teachings.

"Men folks" who ruled their households—with iron severity—felt it unwise for fifty or one hundred women to meet in conclave. They were egged on to action by seeing large groups of femininity massed in Schoolhouse Lane, at Mrs. Hutchinson's door, eager to absorb her new views. The alarmed Puritans, after holding an ecclesiastical council at which fifty elders and ministers gathered, hurriedly passed a law forbidding such assemblies. In a land where men held all offices, signed all documents, and believed fully in that edict of St. Paul, which as usually interpreted emphasizes male supremacy, it was comparatively easy to raise a hue and cry against Ann Hutchinson, though it took two full years to banish her.

Yet, in 1773, inconsistent Boston gloried in the passive resistance to Parliamentary encroachments of the fifteen hundred women who combined in banishing tea from their tables, the same independent spirit seen in 1753 when three hundred women showed unexpected political activities. With persistent and unselfish intent to block importation of English cloth, even at the cost of increased home burdens, they assembled with their spinning-wheels on Boston Common giving an example of home industry in a forceful way to both town and country. This lesson no doubt induced many a farmer to buy another spinning-wheel and insist on his "women folks" keeping pace with their city relatives.

Debonair Sir Harry Vane, when colonial governor, had gained the hearts of his fellows, and his spirit of fair play led him to espouse the cause of Ann Hutchinson. This resulted in the electioneering contest on Cambridge Common. There the dignified John Wilson, Ann Hutchinson's bitterest enemy, climbed a tree and made a speech, lauding ex-Governor Winthrop with such effect that Vane was deposed and Winthrop restored to the Governor's seat. Vane returned to England, meeting Cromwell's historic wail when reprimanding him for defying the law:

"O, Harry Vane; the Lord deliver us from Sir Harry Vane!"

Twenty years later Vane was put to death by Charles II.

The early governors and the deputy governors of the colonies seem to have played the game "Boston" with perfect equanimity. Barren of hard feelings to the deposed, they complacently stepped up or down, the higher governing the lower, and again the lower changing places with the higher through the equalizing ballot. While the controversy waxed warm, a remarkable law was passed by the legislature, as a result of which seventy-five colonists—fifty-eight of them prominent residents of Boston—were condemned to be disarmed. Among others was the patriotic Captain James Savage.

The Puritan refused admittance to the New Lights on the principle that an Englishman's home is his castle. Did the Puritans not come to this land as one large family? Were they not in complete accord and guided by one belief? Why then allow false prophets to undermine their religion? This battle raged fiercely for the first century of the Puritan coming, lapped over into the second, reached well into the third, and in some form will probably last as long as undeveloped man's views of life are crude and restricted—perhaps we might say so long as “more light” breaks forth from the Divine Word will man be noble, unsatisfied, and press on to the goal, as did the great apostle.

With the exception of the Reverend John Cotton, every minister in the colony stood shoulder to shoulder against Ann Hutchinson. Then, at the last trial, which was transferred from Boston to Cambridge, because the Boston populace were in her favor, even John Cotton changed front, making the clergy a solid unit wall of condemnation. He aided instead of hindering the banishment of his ardent supporter, thus proving himself a broken reed. The trial itself was almost a mockery. Brother Wilson, her enemy, followed sharply each point leading to her banishment.

After the court—concluding a session of over three weeks—the first large council of semi-Presbyterian or Congregational churches in New England—had pronounced her guilty, with unction that must have made some think of lubricating grease, this apostle of Christian graces and virtues read the woman out of the church in these words:

“Therefore in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the name of the church, I do not only pronounce you worthy to be cast out, but I do cast you out, and in the name of Christ I do deliver you up to Satan that you may learn no more to blaspheme, to seduce, and to lie, and I do account you from this time forth to be a heathen and a Publican and so to be held of all the brethren and sisters of this congregation and of others; therefore I command you in the name of Christ Jesus and of this church as a Leper to withdraw yourself out of this congregation.”

Verily, even a Puritan could equal a mediæval prelate of the Roman obedience in anathema, interdict, and in all other inventions and devices of often commercialized religion done in God's name.

At the conclusion of Mrs. Hutchinson's trial, she was addressed by Winthrop as follows:

"Mrs. Hutchinson, the sentence of the court you hear is that you are banished from out of our jurisdiction as being a woman not fit for our society, and are to be imprisoned 'til the court shall send you away."

"I desire to know wherefore I am banished."

Winthrop: "Say no more; the court knows wherefore, and is satisfied."

Fears for the safety of youth caused the good governor to swing contrariwise on another occasion, as when brought to task for leniency toward transgressors, he said that in his judgment, "It were not fit in the infancy of a Commonwealth to be too strict in levying fines, though severe in other punishments."

With Ann Hutchinson, woes now clustered. After being face to face in that Cambridge courtroom with harsh accusers, who ordered her banishment, she fled, first into Rhode Island and then into New Netherland, where religion—even amid strenuously upheld orthodoxy—was free. There, during Kieft's war she came face to face with Indian foes who tomahawked this Progressive and all her children, save one. Near New York City, on the Split-Rock road at Pelham Manor, is the well-defined site of this remarkable woman's home and of her death. In more enlightened days, when John Robinson's prophetic word was in course of fulfilment, a tablet was placed here in her honor.

Plymouth, through word and act, condemned Ann Hutchinson's teachings and evinced a determination to jail at any moment this nearby neighbor, the first woman free-thinker. Mrs. Hutchinson's taking off was a direct se-

quence to be laid at Plymouth's door. In the judgment of some, the banishment of the Quaker Southwick family from Plymouth also indirectly led to their deplorable fate at the hands of the Puritans.

An interesting leaf in the history of Plymouth and that of the interlocking Massachusetts Bay folk, who often had common interests with the Pilgrim, is that imbroglio which grew out of Plymouth's trading stations at Machias and Penobscot. The former was in 1633 seized by LaTour and the latter in 1635 by the same Aulnay who set Joseph Willett, the manager, and two assistants adrift in a boat. The record of these rival French governors of Acadia reveals a strange mixture of border warfare, politics and romance, when alternately they cajoled Massachusetts to keep her hands off and let them fight it out. This the Puritans agreed to do, if there was no trespassing on the part of belligerents. De Latour's unexpected appearance in Boston Harbor caused mild uproar until his peaceful intentions were revealed, after which he was fêted by the governor and allowed to hire troops. His intent was to capture vessels and stores from Aulnay. His acts were followed by threatened retaliation and recrimination on the part of the victim. In fact, the Aulnay contingent succeeded admirably in brewing in Boston a tempest of teapot proportions. "To be or not to be" friend or foe to each quarreling French governor was the question of the hour. It proved a fruitful topic of discussion, dividing tea-tables, while outdoors the street orator expatiated on the merits and demerits of this knotty case. Boston Common, now the biggest public park in the business centre of any city in the land, was well utilized by voluble speakers and crowds of eager hearers.

When Plymouth came into the game, seeking the help of the Bay Colony to retake its confiscated trading-post. Massachusetts refused. Plymouth then hired ship-owner Girling to aid, but Girling decamped with a quantity of gun-powder furnished by his employers, leaving them in woe-

ful straits. Massachusetts then frankly agreed to lend a hand, provided it meant division of expense, but while Plymouth was weighing the decision with canny thrift-thought, the deal fell through.

Meanwhile the sovereigns of France and England, being



Courtesy of Houghton, Mifflin Co.

busy with affairs nearer home, looked the other way while the two rival governors fought it out. Both Madame De Latour and Governor Aulnay died. Latour married the widow of his bitter enemy, Aulnay, and their descendants still live united by friendship and marriage on the battleground of their common ancestors. The Pilgrims lost their trading-post, and thus was disastrously closed for Plymouth a much-discussed and unsatisfactory experience. De Latour hired troops returning, brought to Boston the first samples of coal and limestone from Acadia.

As the Plymouth community grew, many leading citizens moved to adjoining settlements and cultivated farms at Duxberie (Duxborrow or Duxbury), Marshfield, and other nearby plantations. The forming of new churches and the departure of old-time friends thereto made many sad partings. As early as 1632, petitions came to the Plymouth church for dismissal, some of the members wishing to found a new church and avoid the effort of bringing their "wives and children to ye publick worship and church meetings here." Outlying land grants had been made stipulating that movers to the country should worship in Plymouth and live there in winter. When, however, leading men like Standish, Alden and Jonathan Brewster, son of Elder Brewster, asked for a separate incorporation and meeting privileges, the Plymouth church could not withstand the pressure. Bradford, however, who always fearlessly spoke his mind to friend or foe, opposed the idea and wrote

expostulatingly: "That this separation presaged the ruin of the church and will provoke ye Lord's displeasure against them."

In 1638 that first moving fever struck Plymouth, and the town as such decided to upstake and away, when an admonition from the Lord, in the form of an earthquake, abruptly stopped the scheme and the Pilgrims continued on the site of their first settlement.

A relapse came years later when Governor Prence advocated and engineered a plan to buy Eastham—more or less a sand heap—but at the last moment Plymouth sold its interest and while Prence and a few others moved out to make good their attitude Plymouth's little settlement lived on where it first drew breath.

Carved monuments on tree and stone and buried leaden tablets seem to have been favorite methods with explorers to anchor their landed rights in America, from that year 1524 when Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean and claimed for fair Castile all the earth in and beyond view.

In the invasion of Connecticut by Pilgrim and Puritan they tore from trees the insignia of ownership fastened thereto by the Dutch some years prior to the coming of the English.

In Connecticut, Lion Gardiner, one of the engineers who, like every military captain in early New England, had seen service in the armies of the Dutch Republic, was a famous fighter of Indians as well as of Spaniards. He settled at Saybrook, and later obtained the thirty-three hundred acre island named after himself, an ocean outpost and one key to Long Island Sound.

Once again the Pilgrims who adventured, this time at Windsor, Connecticut, in 1635, met unrighteousness. It was not the Dutch, but their fellow religionists, co-patriots and quasi-neighbors, the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, who envied the progressive and forceful men of Plymouth their increasing interests in the rich valley. This first break into

the wilderness, and incidentally into the Pilgrim settlement, was led by the Reverend John Wareham. Without more ado, or "by your leave," migration to and usurpation of Pilgrim rights in Connecticut began in force. Not a few struggling settlers, but large bodies of Christians went forth as did the Israelites of old, to take up the land and in the taking preëmpted Pilgrim holdings. An interesting journey, this, the starting out of the Hosts-of-the-Lord to found new Christian plantations, the weaker giving way to the stronger.

Shortly after the Pequot war, the neighboring colonists, as well as those who came direct from across the water, considering Indian troubles were at an end, through the conquest of the warring savages, and eager to enlarge their borders, also began to flock to this rich Connecticut valley and beyond. New Haven, Guilford, Stamford, and other towns were settled. As a rule, the land was purchased from Indians, Stamford being acquired in July, 1640, from Chief Ponus of Toquam, Owanaka his son, and Wascussie, Sagamore of Shippan.

Jonathan, son of Elder Brewster, in charge of the Windsor Post, met the Dorchester people of the Massachusetts Bay Colony open-handed, and with true Pilgrim hospitality stored their goods, loaned canoes in which to explore the country, and gave unstintingly of food and shelter, living level to his faith.

The topographical advantages of Windsor proved a sore temptation to these forerunners of the "Down-East-Yankees," for on returning from an exploring trip the majority said "Windsor is surely ours." To this the Plymouth men strenuously objected, explaining that they had bought the land outright from Indians in 1633, defended it from the Dutch, and expected to settle permanently there. To this the Dorchester people deceitfully replied that it was "the Lord's wast and only being used as a trading-post."

A fair-minded minority of the Puritan settlers held out against this direct invasion of Pilgrim rights, but were finally overruled. This underhand treatment was laid at

The said Andrew be all mine by right of purchase of Johnathan
 Brewster first man of the town and inhabitant of the said
 town be his present wishing by and unto the said Johnathan
 senior of the said town Mary and her couple a home left being
 sold to the said Johnathan and his heirs in the said town. By all my
 lawful friends and neighbors being sworn in the said town of the said
 my binding gift and lands to the said Johnathan at Manhattan
 the said Mary and her couple and her heirs. All my friends and
 neighbors and all my right and interest unto the said
 Johnathan to him and his heirs for ever of the said town of
 a tract of land and to be accounted, the said Johnathan
 and his heirs to the said Johnathan and his heirs forever, land and water
 to be owned to the said Johnathan and his heirs forever
 to be used and of none other. With all my land and water
 29th September 1661.

Witnessed herewith.
 Johnathan Brewster
 Rebecca Smith

LETTER OF JONATHAN BREWSTER.

the door of the Massachusetts Bay colony by advocates of the "Square-Deal," but Plymouth rights were scantily regarded and wounds went unhealed, though glossed by the spirit of forgiveness. In the closing bargain, completing another land tenure, in succession, Indian, Dutch, Pilgrim and Puritan shared in the tract, Pilgrims keeping one-sixteenth of the land, while the Puritans absorbed the larger area, which they cannily paid for at the purchase price given by the Pilgrims to the Indians. The Pilgrims, as shown in the episode of Christopher Gardiner, were ever careful of their good name. This relative of an English bishop flaunted



THE PURITAN INVASION OF CONNECTICUT.

social iniquity in the face of the Plymouth people, which caused Gardiner's prompt arrest and banishment.

The only battle of moment over English inroads in Connecticut between English and Dutch colonists, in days when Spain was still unconquered and their nations were allies and neither wanted to be an enemy to the other, was hardly more than a Donnybrook affair. A cracked skull, a blackened eye, and a few bruises were the sum total of injuries in a successful effort of the English to acquire from Dutch claimants the future tobacco and cornfields of the Nutmeg State.

Through constant study, early maps were worn to tatters, and the geography of their own and adjacent holdings was as A B C to Pilgrim and Puritan students before the log-fire. There was no surveying yet.

The Reverend Thomas Hooker of Cambridge, who had been a refugee in Holland, lived in the Republic some years. With his one hundred Puritan church members he



THE PURITANS ENTERING CONNECTICUT.

headed an emigration to Connecticut in June, 1636, settling near Hartford. Then came the Watertown company, locating at Wethersfield, and later the Dorchester church, the former settling at Wethersfield, and the latter at Windsor,



REVEREND MR. HOOKER'S WIFE CARRIED INTO CONNECTICUT ON THE SHOULDERS OF HIS PARISHIONERS.

a clashing-point with the Pilgrims. The illness of the Reverend Dr. Thomas Hooker's wife made necessary a roughly built litter, gladly borne on the shoulders of faithful parishioners.

Compared with the rock-bound coast and big patches of sterile land in Massachusetts, Maine and New Hampshire, the fertile Connecticut valley glowed as a paradise to the Pilgrim and Puritan farmer-settlers. The Hooker House was built on the site of Newman's barn. On June 4, 1639, in this barn was held the memorable meeting of planters to discuss catechism and crops. The last words of Thomas Hooker, who died July 7, 1647, reveal the Puritan's attitude toward his Maker: "Receive reward for labors, Brother," said a faithful comrade in the Lord, who had called to close the good man's eyes in death. "No, I am going to receive mercy," was the response of this unselfish minister of the gospel. Hooker's trend of thought is well shown in one of his books published in London in 1632,

"Paul in the pulpit Hooker could not reach,
Yet did he Christ in spirit so lively preach
That living hearers thought he did inherit
A double portion of Paul's lively spirit."

As religious differences led the Puritans to New England, so controversies split both church and colonists. As in nature the offshoot from the parent stock often means increase, so a conflict of thought meant another meeting house, and another blazing of a path through the forest to worship God or to exploit some schism in a new settlement. The wilds of New Hampshire, the lakes and forests of Maine, the fertile valleys of Connecticut and Rhode Island were in time dotted with towns and cabins, where the occupant could worship God as conscience dictated, or follow the advice of Job's wife.

CHAPTER II

CROMWELL—NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERACY OF 1643—DEATH OF PILGRIM LEADERS

THE rise of Puritanism in England under Cromwell's meteoric hard and fast rule created a tremendous stir in all the colonies, especially the two on the New England seaboard, wherein dwelt many a boon companion.

The close comradeship of the university grouped common interests, yet each, whether Conformist or Nonconformist, clergyman or warrior, moved in his own groove, and struggled mightily for the advancement of the race, though often from antagonistic bases. The same chaotic times that developed a Cromwell also placed their hall mark on intrepid Governors Endecott and Leverett, the latter that brave old soldier of the Commonwealth who fought by Cromwell's side, and Wheelwright, the divine who dared to speak out and returned to England as Cromwell's chaplain. All three were college mates of the man who upset the old and helped to build up a new and better Europe.

If the English people, who had for so many centuries centralized both their religion and politics, Church and State, in the "Establishment" and the throne, were not yet prepared for a republic or for federal government, how could the colonists in America do otherwise than arm themselves with the same independent mind, and not easily depart from it?

While many Pilgrims and a few Pilgrim descendants returned to England to aid the Great Commoner, the colonies as a whole were not represented in the Long Parliament. The colonists were far from being Republicans. It was yet to require years of unjust taxation and the seven years of the

War of the Revolution to plough up the ground of the inherited belief in monarchical rule, already centuries old. The idea of autocracy in church and state still governed.

As yet democracy had a home only in the congregation.



CROMWELL'S DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA STOPPED BY KING CHARLES' MINIONS.

In the field of his religious life from the hour the Pilgrim first set foot on the land discovered by Cabot, he strode absolutely free in a realm unbounded and unrestricted, save as conscience reared barriers against the Philistines of the earth, who, scenting from afar the flesh pots, flocked to his attempted undoing. No one had as yet propounded the idea of a fed-



CROMWELL MORALIZING OVER THE BODY OF HIS VICTIM CHARLES I.



CROMWELL, THE MAN OF IRON.

eration of all colonies, even of a unity to resist French aggression.

Cromwell's most valued aid was Pym, nicknamed by Royalists "King Pym," and at the assembling of the Long Parliament called by the historian "the most popular man of

this or any other age." Pym managed the impeachment of Strafford and Laud and caused their taking off. Hampden at one time journeyed across the water, visited Plymouth, hobnobbed with his friend Edward Winslow, when he called on Massasoit, and improved his opportunity to study the puzzling Indian problem.

Hampden closed his successful meteoric career on Chalgrove Field June 24, 1643. A costly stoppage that of Charles I when his adherents halted Cromwell, Pym, and Hampden as they leaped the boat's gunwale, headed for the New World!



Courtesy of Paul W. Bartlett.

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., GOVERNOR OF
CONNECTICUT.

A turn of the hand and Oliver Cromwell, the man considered a failure until past middle life, but whose hour of triumph has been called "the most critical moment of history," might have lived in Windsor town, on the banks of the Long River, as a plain Connecticut farmer, had his departure not been stopped by royal command! Through travesty of fate, the king later lost his head at command of these same fleeing farmers. Tradition locates the scene of Oliver's expected embarkation on the Fleet in London, near which has stood for a generation the handsome Memorial Congregational Hall, in which the Tercentenary of the Pilgrims was celebrated in 1921.

Ever a welcome sound to Cromwell's ears were the "iron-throated plaudits" of his cannon, "as they ploughed rifts of death" through the ranks of the fleeing Royalists. Cromwell ever supplemented and gave "Divine Providence" aid with a liberal use of dry powder and the sword.

It was a keen disappointment to Governor John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut that this watermill, which he painstakingly erected at New London in 1650, and which still turns as in olden times, never ground corn for his farmer friends, Cromwell and Pym, who had delegated him to



THE WHEEL THAT GROUND CORN FOR JOHN WINTHROP WHO PLANNED TO HAVE HIS FRIENDS, CROMWELL AND PYM, NEIGHBORHOOD FARMERS.



By T. H. Maguire.

THE GREAT COMMONER REFUSING THE CROWN IN 1657.

blaze a path to a permanent Old Men's Home on the Long River. Never was the travesty of fate more clearly outlined.

"The best thing England ever did was Oliver Cromwell," said Carlyle, but rough times meant rough treatment. To have the Commonwealth soldiery ruthlessly drag your family silver from its nestling-place into the melting-pot for money or drive your cattle to the slaughter pen for the troops, caused many thousands of Roman Catholics and half-way Puritans to draw back and even to welcome the restoration of royal authority. Ben Johnson went into exile, and theatres through the land were blotted out under Puritan régime.

The interior fires which meant, sooner or later, religious upheaval had smouldered for years, and then burst forth with spiritual volcanic fury. Blind to their danger, master and servant, Charles I and far-seeing Archbishop Laud, saw no Long Parliament, nor its Cromwellian ruler. When Laud said "Never was there a church or a kingdom in such complete and quiet uniformity," the inner forces were gathering and in the vortex of religious upheaval kingcraft and priest-



CROMWELL DICTATING TO JOHN MILTON. GENERAL LAMBERT.
CROMWELL LEADING A CHARGE AT ADMIRAL BLAKE
MARSTON MOOR.
CROMWELL'S PORTRAIT CROMWELL UNNERVED AT THE
DEATH OF HIS DAUGHTER BRIDGET.

craft were to be buried. Puritanism stalked through England in the flush of victory, blasting, uprooting, devastating, turning up a rough soil in preparation for seed-sowing, which in time was to yield a harvest for the nourishing and upbuilding of the race along new and progressive lines.



GENERAL IRETON WHO
SUBDUED IRELAND

To start afresh with the handicaps of a nation steeped in Popish pomp and stereotyped existence was to set the pace of a progress which fully offset in ultimate values the pecuniary and physical trials that had beset the Pilgrim Fathers.

These pioneers craved and obtained soul freedom in the face of difficulties that could harrow only the physical body but never daunt their God-fed spirits. Inborn in the Pilgrim was the same indomitable God-given will that caused a Cranmer and a Latimer, a Huss and a Penry, to laugh at torture, greet death with a smile of exultation and glory in martyrdom.

Evidently the Great Commoner thought enough of brother John Cotton of St. Botolph to bestir himself and write a real letter. Oliver Cromwell's known epistolary efforts rarely exceeded a dozen or two lines, but when Carlisle unearthed and published them, together with his speeches, they changed the opinion



CROMWELL'S INSTALLATION AS LORD
PROTECTOR, 1653.



By Sir Benjamin West.

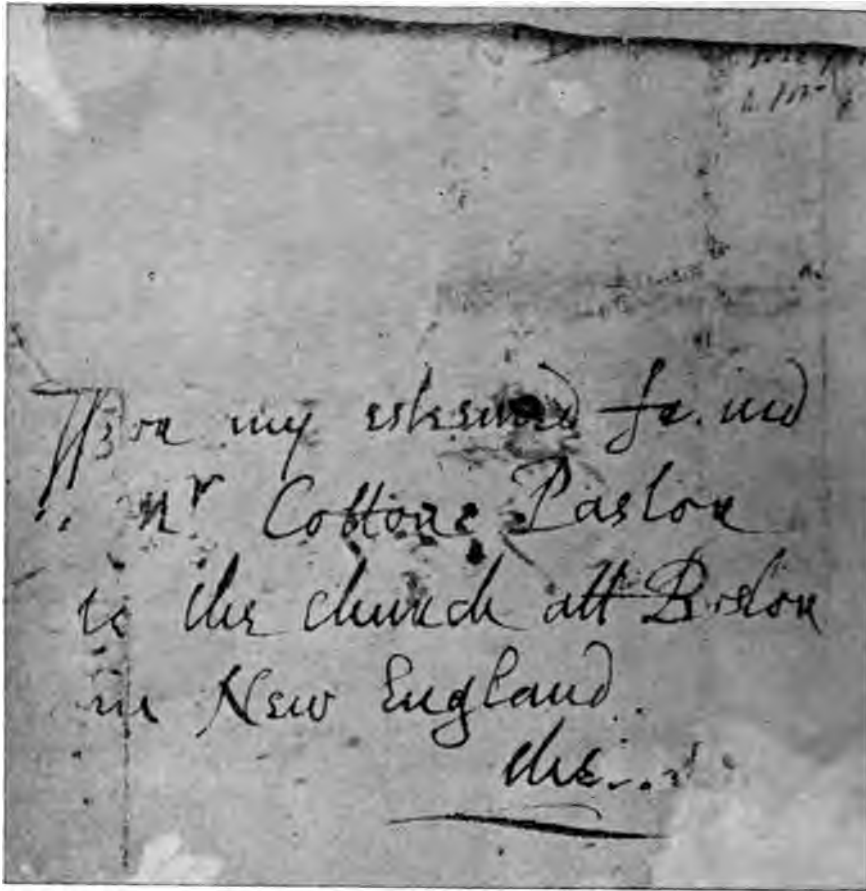
CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

fullness, and every way
 ness to my works, yett, yett,
 the Lord who will have mer-
 cy on whom He will, does
 as you see. pray for me, salute
 all christian friends though not
 known, I am
 your affectionate friend,
 to serve you O Cromwell

Oct 25. 1651

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER FROM OLIVER CROMWELL TO JOHN COTTON

THIS LETTER TO JOHN COTTON EXCEEDS IN LENGTH CROMWELL'S USUAL LAÇONIC EPISTLES,



From my esteemed friend
Mr Cotton Pastor
to the church at Boston
in New England.
This

COPY OF CROMWELL'S SUPERScription TO PASTOR COTTON.

of the four nations of the British Isles and of the reading men of the world.

Cromwell, the Protector, epitomized the doctrine of faith and works set forth by Saint James when he said: "Trust in God, but keep your powder dry," or again, "he who prays and preaches best fights best." Here we have a correct synopsis of the Puritan's attitude toward the Creator, blotting into oblivion the Napoleonic imperialistic utterance: "God is on the side of the heaviest battalions," matching the battle prayer of Lord Ashley as he fought the badly decimated battalions of Charles I, "O God Thou knowest

how much I have to do today. If I forget Thee, do not forget me."

The fact that Parliament towered above the vacant royal throne while Cromwell steered the course of England set back New England's development one hundred and fifty years, for between 1640 and 1790 exodus from the Mother Country practically ceased. The homeland seemed good enough for ambitious Non-conformists, even when under unpleasant limitations.

From this side of the ocean a sprinkling of the "sifted grain," notably Saltonstall, Hutchinson, Pynchon, Leverett and others, returned to England, some to join the Protector in his call to arms, and share in the onward march of Protestantism over the ruins of formalistic worship. Among those who returned were many Harvard graduates whose love for the Mother Country and faith in the Commonwealth caused them to seek the field of honor under Cromwellian leadership. Doubtless Plymouth did its share by pen and sword in both the homegoing and the cause overseas.

The death of Cromwell's daughter (Bridget) evidently unbalanced the Great Commoner's will-power as did the approach of his own death hour.

A trinity of note is that of the seventeenth century, wherein the ships of Blake, the sword of Cromwell, and the Puritan spirit cleft the way for a broader Free Churchmanship.

Cromwell, crushing his pride, refused a crown, and when Ledy was painting his portrait, he said "Leave out a single wrinkle and that wart and I'll not pay you a cent."

General Ireton's treatment of the Irish caused Cromwell to report to Parliament "I have pacified Ireland; I shot



GENERAL - AT - SEA -
BLAKE, CROMWELL'S
MAIN SEA FIGHTER.

every tenth man, the rest I sent to the galleys. The monks I knocked on the head." *

The Celtic part of the Irish people, ever foremost in forum, feast, battle, and official life, as notably seen in the larger cities of the United States, never left the Emerald Isle for America in any large numbers until the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Scotch of the North, however, their commercial fortunes ruined by selfish English legislation, found firm footing in all sections of what is now the United States, settling at first especially on the frontiers, and forming a bulwark between savagery and civilization. They made staunch, true, and useful citizens from the outset, and furnished for the public service an extraordinary proportion of able men in Church and State. When the English Puritan slaughtered churchmen with a free hand, the Quaker Governor of North Carolina, John

John Dail-
Sam. & Hoovey
Moses Fiske
Joseph Estabrook
Jabez Fox
Jeremiah Shepard
Thom. Clark
Peter Thacher
Thomas Webb
James Sherman
John Danforth
Joseph Capen

SIGNATURE OF TWELVE OF THE
PURITAN CLERGY.

Archdale, aptly pilloried the merciless act by saying: "Can't you kill bears and wolves, as well as churchmen?"

Plymouth in 1639, putting its best diplomatic foot foremost, empowered Bradford and Winslow to meet Endecott and Stoughton and settle the disputed boundary line between Plymouth and the Bay Colonies, as then recorded:

"That all ye marshes at Conahassett yt lye of ye one side of ye river next to Hingham shall belong to ye jurisdiction of Massachusetts Plantation and all

* In line with the cesspool of blood in which Europe had been submerged, cheapness of life meant speedy death.

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life, as notably seen in the
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which Europe had been submerged



EXECUTION OF MIANTONOMOH AT THE BEHEST OF UNCAS.

crossed swords and with the coöperation of those other colonies—in which was mainly the seat of war—won out in the struggle with the king and the corrupt Parliament of Great Britain. The battle states of New York and New Jersey were well to the fore.

The fact that Miantonomoh was a close friend of the debarred and ostracized Roger Williams, and an upholder and backer of Samuel Gorton, having sold his Shamomet or Warwick, Rhode Island, land claimed by Mas-

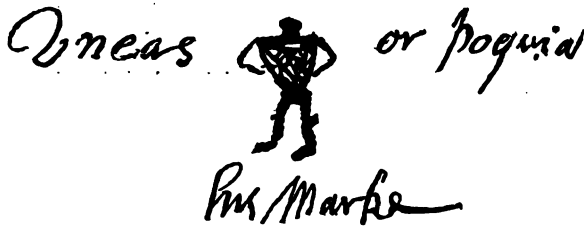
1637

sachusetts to Gorton the banished malcontent, did not aid Miantonomoh's cause

the marks of Miantonomoh

AUTOGRAPH OF MIANTONOMOH.

before that condemning conference of fifty ministers. Neither did they honorably consider the treaty with Miantonomoh in 1636, the year before the Pequot uprising. On the contrary they leaned with self-excusing leniency toward the Uncas-Mohegan Treaty of 1638, which was made the year



UNCAS' AUTOGRAPH.



MONUMENT TO UNCAS.

after that short but decisive bloody Pequot War wherein the Mohegans in slight measure, though at times failing to assist either promptly or effectively, aided the whites to crush this warlike Connecticut tribe, of which Sassacus was a prominent chief.

In this latter treaty it was stipulated that the English were to act as judges in any dispute between the two powerful warring chieftains. When Miantonomoh took the field against Uncas, the latter having attacked with the full consent of the English, his close friend, Sequassa, Miantonomoh was vanquished, captured by Uncas, then condemned by the ministerial tribunal.* A true friend of the English died through Indian intrigue and jealousy, abetted by that ministerial court and its sub-committee. The commission meeting in Boston September 7, 1643, in these words decreed the death of Miantonomoh, declaring

"That Uncas cannot be safe while Miantonomoh lives, but that either by secret treachery or open force his life will be still in danger. Wherefore they think he may justly put such a false and bloodthirsty enemy to death, but in his own jurisdiction, not in the English plantations; and advising that in the manner of his death all mercy and moderation be shown, contrary to the practice of the Indians, who exercise tortures and cruelty."

On Sachem Plain near Norwich, Connecticut, this valued Indian friend of Williams and Winthrop was struck

* Resulting in a thirty pound fine for Gorton, but the Indian land-seller paid for the indiscretion with his life.

down. Cannibalistic Uncas sliced off a piece of the shoulder of the man he either murdered or caused to be murdered and greedily devoured it raw, mumbling through blood-dripping



SIGN OF A BOSTON INN.



SIGN OF THE GREEN
DRAGON INN.

jaws that it was "the best meat he ever tasted and made his heart strong."

It was Miantonomoh, the Narragansett chief, who sold the beautiful island of Aquiday (Little Rhody—Red or Roode) to Roger Williams for forty fathoms of white wampum. Williams called it the Isle of Rhodes after that fair Isle of the Mediterranean. It was also Miantonomoh whom Governor Winthrop dined—not wine, which was against the good man's conscience—at Cole's Inn, on King, in earlier times Long, and lastly State street. The doors of that first hostelry—using the word in a double sense—were held hospitably ajar by mine aproned host, pioneer Samuel Cole.



A BOSTON BUSINESS
SIGN OF "YE OLDEN
TYME."

A goodly array of bonifaces ministered to the wants of the inner man in Boston, as well as at Plymouth. We have no record that in those days side entrances and back sitting-rooms were tavern adjuncts. When Plymouthites of 1684 were free from leading-strings on a trip to town, per-

chance they drank uproariously served by the dispensers of rum and flip in taprooms, named below.

One of the first inns mentioned in Boston was that under the sign of the State Arms in King street in 1653, where the



SAMUEL GORTON BEFORE GOVERNOR CODDINGTON.

magistrates usually ate and drank; the "Ship Tavern," in Ann street, 1724; "King's Head Tavern," near Fleet street, 1755; "Queen's Head," in Lynn street, 1732; and the "Ship in Distress," an ancient tavern, opposite Moon street. Inns multiplied so fast, it was claimed a bit humorously that every other house in Boston was an ordinary or drinking rendezvous.

Among the strenuous spreaders of isms who drifted to Plymouth, Samuel Gorton stood in the front rank. Pilgrim and Puritan shared equally in the turmoil engendered by the presence of this former London clothier, who claimed to be a "Professor of the mysteries of Christ; a lay preacher, not



© Charles Scribner's Sons

ATTACK ON GORTONITES BY
DISAFFECTED COLONISTS.

brought up in a school of human learning." Wherever his campfires were lighted, if given sufficient time, discord was sure to claim a front seat in their full glare. Trouble started with the authorities when his wife's servant, a Mrs. Aldredge, smiled in meeting, and was brought to court for the impropriety.

When Gorton told the judges they were "just asses"—a witticism often credited to another unbeliever in the Established Church—the storm already brewing broke in fierceness, and court dignity was but partially appeased by the banishment of the accused.

While Gorton lived in Plymouth, he impressed his strong individuality upon the town and kept its good people in anxiety. Finally, to their relief, Gorton emigrated to Rhode Island—then known as "The land of crooked sticks." Roger Williams, the apostle of toleration, who refused no one shelter, reluctantly allowed Gorton temporary quarters, but soon invited him to move on. The malcontent went into the wilderness. The land that Gorton purchased from Miantonomoh in Warwick was claimed by Massachusetts Bay as colonial property. This transaction caused Gorton's summons to Boston for trial, resulting in a fine of thirty pounds. In this case the purchaser fared better than the Indian seller who, as recorded, paid for the act with his life.

When Uncas sank his teeth into the shoulder of his quivering, dying foe, he simply reverted to the customs of his car-

nibalistic ancestors, as Bradford writes, of which the Pilgrims when in Holland had read and heard. In the picture the Indians are shown feasting on the "collops" of the ca-



DRAGGING THE CONDEMNED BY THE HAIR AT HORSES' HEELS TO THE SCAFFOLD.

daver steaks hung from the roof of the rough shelter. In the foreground, one notes the Red Cross ship with sails filled, coming to Christianize and *enslave* the native and incidentally to devastate his land. (See page 351.)

Stripping flesh from the living in the presence of, and to feed, their women and children was a savage custom, but at the same hour civilization was dragging prisoners by the hair to the scaffold at horses' heels, intensifying pain and giving a Roman holiday to the gaping crowd.

Coddington, who thrice sat in the gubernatorial chair of Rhode Island, had many a wordy bout with Gorton, the stirrer up of all good and a few bad things. Gorton proved a trouble maker of the first order, and Colonists did not hesitate to use the roughest methods in banishing at the point of sword and musket men, women, and children who trailed in Gorton's wake.

As with many another of the disaffected, Gorton on reaching England, "rushed into print." His book so maligned the colonists that his former townsmen thought the

libel of sufficient importance to send Edward Winslow, New England's most famous diplomat, to England at Plymouth's expense to contradict its aspersions. Dr. Edward Stiles said "Gorton wrote his book in Heaven and none could understand it save those who live in Heaven on Earth." It seems then as since, saints claimed to walk the earth, symbolizing in spiritual life the charmed existence in the physical surroundings of Shadrach, Meshac, and Abednego.

In reaching that period of history when the four leading Pilgrim Forefathers disappeared from earth, we of today share with their fellows as heirs in the joy of accomplishment and in the sorrow of parting. Back in the early seventeenth century we first met these men of the vanguard. They were then in the heyday of their powers and the fulness of their labors. Nearly half a century passes, when on April 16, 1644, the year after the Confederation of the colonists, the barque of William Brewster's life, laden with the record of nearly fourscore years, cast off moorings, and sailed out into the Great Beyond.

This patriarch of the little group had seen the glamor and the dissipation of an Elizabethan court, had accompanied the Virgin Queen's secretary in the Republic of the United Netherlands, and had shared Davison's downfall when the queen diplomatically landed the blame for the hurried execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, on her secretary's shoulders. Brewster knew the wide world as few church officers of his own or of later times have known it. When he came to the passing, and was ready to "wrap the drapery of his couch about him and lie down to pleasant dreams," his soul was once more in Scrooby. In fancy he lived over the scenes of his childhood and early manhood, walked again the lanes of his native village, lifted the door-latch, and crossed yonder threshold as in boyhood days he had done thousands of times.

In the midst of these musings, came the end of the dying

DEATH OF PILGRIM LE

elder, the founder of the First Free
One of the brightest lights that ever sh
flickered and went out. A difficult plac
tries and three eras had Elder Willia
filled it in full measure.

As Bradford wrote at the time, “
this life for a better.”

“To the great mourning of them
“William Brewster passed to wher
“these voices there is peace.”

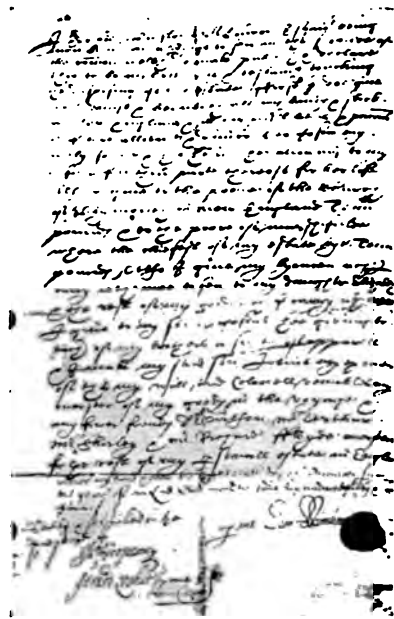
When the church was without a p
at the instigation of the Reverend John
made an elder, taught for fully ten y
profitably, and many were brought to
Prayer was Brewster's main weapon



LEAF FROM A BRADFORD B

and he usually deeply stirred into action that undercurrent in all hearts, the unknown force called conscience.

Governor Bradford, who survived his old friend and comrade fourteen years, wrote of him in sweet and tender requiem:



DOCUMENT SIGNED BY EDWARD WINSLOW.

"I should say something of his life if to say a little were not worse than to be silent. He was tender-hearted and compassionate of such as were in miserie, but especially of such as had been of good estate and ranke and were fallen into want & poverty either for goodness & religions sake or by ye injury & oppression of others.

"Like a tired child, he fell asleep when his long day's work was over and without pang or gasping departed this life into a better."

Centuries before Brewster's death, Christians wrote the epitaphs of those who departed in the faith. Amazing is the contrast in spirit of the pagan inscriptions on the tombs of

their dear ones taken from them—so unresigned to the fiat of the gods—and the words of comfort, joy, hope, and devout resignation of the Christians. In the Vatican museum in Rome, those tokens of gloom and of glory in their contrast remind one of the desert and an oasis.

Man will continue to soften the sorrow of parting until humanity realizes the truth of Longfellow's lines:

"There is no death; what seems so is
transition;
This life of mortal breath
Is but a suburb of the life Elysian
Whose portals we call death."

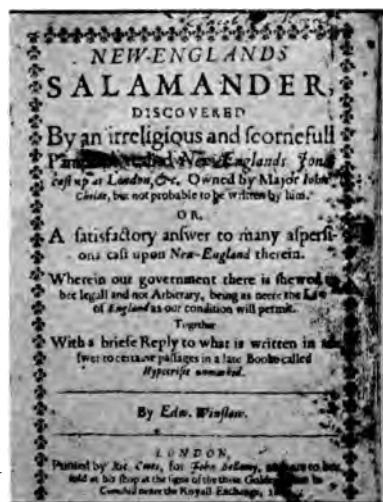


Only a Christian—bereaved father though he was—filled with the joy of all hope, could have penned these lines.

After Brewster, an “elder” in a Congregational church was increasingly a rarity, for in the evolution of the Free



“HYPOCRISY UNMASKED,”
BY EDWARD WINSLOW.



NEW ENGLAND'S SALAMANDER,
BY EDWARD WINSLOW.

Churches, in both England and America, semi-Presbyterianism gave way to primitive and modern Congregationalism, as democracy was further applied to religion.

Back in 1621, Edward Winslow, whose portrait herein shown is the only absolutely authentic one of any Mayflowerite,* wrote to a friend in England:

“By the goodness of God, we are so far from want that we often wish others partakers of our plenty.”

This proves that the Pilgrims at this time were well fed, also that Winslow was an optimist, the spirit of thankfulness within him never abating with age.

Time's devastating hand destroyed the Marshfield farm-

*Today we have also a portrait of Lady Rose Hickman of Gainsborough, mother of William Hickman, who was a pronounced Separatist, and at times imprisoned for the faith.

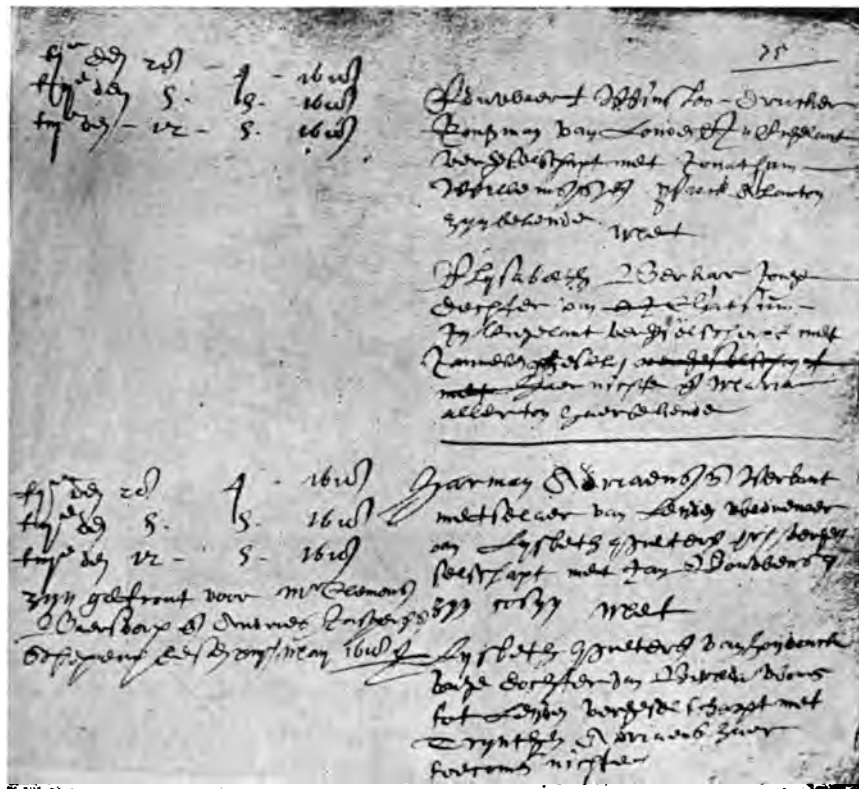
house. The one here pictured was built by Edward Winslow, grandson of the first Edward Winslow.

Edward Winslow, who was born in Droitwich, Worcestershire, England, followed Elder Brewster in death



TOMBSTONE OF JOSIAH WINSLOW AND HIS WIFE PENELOPE.

eleven years later. Three years prior to his decease he went to England to argue Colonial Rights. This he did with such knowledge and vigor that the Protector Cromwell could not allow Winslow to return to Plymouth, but appointed him on several important commissionerships. Winslow died on a voyage to Jamaica while following out the behests of the Commonwealth Ruler. He was buried at sea with all the pomp attending the funeral obsequies of an ambassador, including salvos of artillery. Ever a diplomatic and watchful



EDWARD WINSLOW AND ELIZABETH BARKER'S MARRIAGE INTENTION
RECORDED IN HOLLAND.

governor, he was delegated by the Massachusetts Bay Colony to thwart the stealthfully appointed commissioners, Vassal, Samuel Mavericke, the churchman of Noddle's Island, and Robert Childs, who had been sent to England by disaffected Puritans to plead with the king for a victory over the people. Happily for the future American Republic, Winslow successfully accomplished his mission. At a moment's notice he could defend the colonies from their defamers, and when in England farther explained, in these words, that he and his co-religionists had fought the Indians because—

"If we in America should forbear to unite for offence and defence against a common enemy till we have leave from England, our throats might all be cut before the messenger would be half-seas through."

This statement let in a flood of light on the conditions in Plymouth, where the lives of the colonists hung in the balance for years.

With inherent candor, Edward Winslow freely admitted



FLEET PRISON, WHERE EDWARD WINSLOW WAS
CONFINED FOR SEVENTEEN WEEKS.

even though he knew that the probable sequence would be imprisonment if not a more dire fate, that he preached and conducted civil marriages. In punishment for this Archbishop Laud, using the Star Chamber methods he inaugurated, kept Winslow in Fleet Prison for a period of seventeen weeks for what in the ages of ecclesiastical absolutism was a crime committed in New England. It was not Laud's fault that the Plymouth ambassador did not, as Laud did later, lose his head.

"The ill wind that bloweth good to all somehow, somewhere, sometime," is well instanced in the case of this same Archbishop Laud. He was the chief oppressor of Pilgrim, Puritan, and all Free Churchmen, and his drastic measures forced, or, as the Stratford memorial window, paid for by Americans, in unconscious irony expresses it, "promoted" the emigration of some of the best blood in "Olde" England to the newer and more progressive land.

When the English Puritans came into power, Laud with undaunted courage met his death under the headsman's axe on Tower Hill, January 10, 1645. His fall, as well as that



EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD.

of Strafford, was brought about through the efforts of that right hand of Cromwell, John Pym.

Laud never lost an opportunity to persecute, prosecute and imprison. Cotton, Hooker and Davenport were among others listed for jailing, and flight alone saved them. Cotton



TWO OF THE THREE FLEEING PASTORS, HOOKER BEING THE THIRD.

and Hooker escaped the watchfulness of Laud's minions by embarking for the Isle of Wight, later going on board a ship in the Downs headed for that haven of the Dissenter, Boston-on-the-Charles.

The trio of fleeing erudite preachers who chanced their lives in the same "shippe" on which were those forceful disciples of the Lord, had ample time for sure-to-come discussions during the voyage.

The Winslow family tree truly yields excellent argument for those who believe that "blood will tell," even though the patriot record was marred by a brace of Tory Royalists, yet even they doubtless acted in loyalty with a good conscience. Edward Winslow, the first Free Churchman in his family, joined the Pilgrims at Leyden in 1617.



EMERSON'S HOME AT CONCORD.



EMERSON'S BRIDAL JOURNEY
FROM PLYMOUTH TO CONCORD.



Ralph Waldo Emerson



EMERSON'S TOMB.



THE FIGHT AT CONCORD BRIDGE.

THE INTYING OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON WITH PLYMOUTH.

journey was across country in a chaise from Plymouth to the historic Emerson house in Concord.

October 3, 1656, the year after Edward Winslow's passing, Myles Standish, ex-captain of English auxiliaries in the Dutch Republic, and first commissioned military officer of New England, crossed the Divide on his Duxbury farm at the age of eighty-three or thereabout. For a quarter of a century the "Little Captain" had performed military wonders with the puny but fearless band of warriors at his command. Death to the Pilgrim, like other experiences, was met in orderly fashion. The Captain instructed his stricken family, ere the parting hour arrived, in these words:

"If I die in Duxburrow my body to bee laied as neare as conveniently may bee to my two dear daughters, Lora Standish my daughter and Mary Standish my daughter-in-law."

By means of the above directions, Myles Standish's grave was fairly well located, even after two centuries. The exhumed bones of the warrior, assuming that this was his skeleton, gave little ground for the supposition that he was small in stature.

Myles Standish's furniture at the time of his death, inventoried below, gives an excellent idea of the grade and number of household belongings of the average well-to-do Pilgrim of the day.

"Four bedsteads, one settle-bed, five feather beds, three bolsters, three pillows, two blankets, one coverlid, four pairs of sheets, one pair of fine sheets and four napkins. Two tables, one table-cloth, one form chair, four common chairs, four rugs. Four iron pots, three brass kettles, one frying-pan, one skillet or kneading-trough, two pails, two trays, one dozen trenchers, or wooden plates, one bowl, one churn. Two spinning-wheels, one pair of steel-yards, one warming-pan, three beer-casks, a malt-mill. His collection of weapons embraced three muskets, four carbins, two small guns, one fowling-piece, his famous sword, a cutlass with three belts. His library was composed of a few books, including Cæsar's Commentaries, Barriffe's Artillery, several histories and two Bibles. His live stock consisted of two mares, two

DEATH OF PILGRIM LEADERS



GRANITE STATUE OF MYLES STANDISH
HIS PROBABLE GRAVE.

colts, one young horse, with equipments; two saddles, one pillion and one bridle; four oxen, six cows, three heifers, one calf, eight sheep, two rams, one wether, and fourteen swine."



A DOOR OF THE STANDISH HOUSE ON WHICH ARE
LATCHES AND HINGES OFTEN HANDLED BY
MYLES STANDISH.

Alexander Standish, the Captain's eldest son, who married Sarah, daughter of John and Priscilla Mullins Alden, built in 1666 the Standish house at Duxbury, which is now a haloed relic of the settlement of the land. The old dwelling contains hearthstones,

wooden beams and door latches, which have been seen and touched times without number by Pilgrim fathers, mothers and children.

The Captain fully enjoyed the good things that await those who gathered around the flowing bowl in ye olden time.

It is an inspiration to clasp the handle and run one's fingers along the keen edge of Myles Standish's saracenic sword, rich in talismanic, Arabic characters, the date of which some decipherers would place prior to the Christian era. Popular interpretations, heretofore printed in guide books, are not accepted by either native or American scholars in Arabic. So rich in actual history, Myles Standish's sword, like its owner, needs no fiction to make or mar its unique value. It is the most important relic in the military history of the United States. Myles Standish surely gazed with pride on the efforts of his little daughter Lorea, as she em-

broidered on the old time samplar—one stereotyped guide to well doing:

"Lorea Standish is my name.
Lord guide my hart that I may doe thy will;
Also fill my hands with such convenient skill
As may conduce to virtue void of shame;
And I will give the glory to thy name."

William Bradford gon^r

Thus was linked the custom of ornamental needlework of those first days with the present.

When the Fort Church was razed by one of the first American house-wreckers, the beams were used in the construction of Sergeant Harlow's house, and in the dwelling built by Alexander, son of Myles Standish.

The Granite Monument erected to the memory of Myles Standish well indicates the Captain's sterling character.

As with Bunker Hill, the Washington Monument, and scores of other memorials, even of national interest, it was a long wait from corner- to capstone—in this case some twenty years, but a short period if compared with the century required for the United States Government to erect the monument to General Mercer and other heroes, and even to rear the Saratoga memo-

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE SIGNED BY
WILLIAM BRADFORD AND DOROTHY
MAY IN AMSTERDAM.

26. juni 1619
 Joris Jorissz pistor de Blanning
 In 107 geboiten vrienden geselschap genooten
 William Bradford ingesamen sijn vaders hant
 hi sijner en doudes enijer mede wijt inget
 vrent op de minsterdijck
 Joris Jorissz
 In 157 geboiten vrienden geselschap genooten
 Jan de Breeff van Groeninge in d'ijder hant
 hangende en doudes enijer mede wijt inget
 vrent op de minsterdijck

DUTCH DOCUMENT IN WHICH WILLIAM BRADFORD IS NAMED.

1619
 De overleden van William Bradford
 die overleden is op den 20sten
 dach van Augustus 1619
 in de 48ste jaer van sijn
 leven. Hij was geboren
 op den 22sten dach van
 December 1571 in de
 stad van Groeninge
 in de provincie van
 Overijssel. Hij was
 een vromer man en
 een goede burger.
 Hij was getrouwt
 met Maryke van
 Groeninge. Hij had
 twee kinderen.
 De ene is een
 jongen die heet
 William. De andere
 is een meisje
 dat heet Maryke.
 De overleden
 is begraven in
 de kerk van
 Groeninge.

1619
 De overleden van William Bradford
 die overleden is op den 20sten
 dach van Augustus 1619
 in de 48ste jaer van sijn
 leven. Hij was geboren
 op den 22sten dach van
 December 1571 in de
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 Hij was getrouwt
 met Maryke van
 Groeninge. Hij had
 twee kinderen.
 De ene is een
 jongen die heet
 William. De andere
 is een meisje
 dat heet Maryke.
 De overleden
 is begraven in
 de kerk van
 Groeninge.

William Bradford and Maryke
 were married April 6th 1593
 in the church of St. Mary
 in the city of Groeninge
 in the province of Overijssel
 in the Netherlands.
 They had two children.
 The first is a son
 named William.
 The second is a daughter
 named Maryke.
 William Bradford
 died August 20th 1619
 in the 48th year of his
 life.
 He was buried in
 the church of St. Mary
 in the city of Groeninge.
 Maryke Bradford
 died August 20th 1619
 in the 48th year of her
 life.
 She was buried in
 the church of St. Mary
 in the city of Groeninge.

THIS DUTCH DOCUMENT SIGNED BY
WILLIAM BRADFORD.DOCUMENT SIGNED BY WILLIAM
BRADFORD.

A BRADFORD FAMILY RECORD.

rial which Congress in the first flush of victory after that decisive battle of battles ordered to be immediately built. Yet, though this was one of the victories that altered the face of the world—due in part to Benedict Arnold's valor and his disobedience of orders—the nation's pocketbook was empty.* Gratitude is often a stark and cold virtue.



Courtesy of A. S. Burbank.
GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S
MONUMENT.

The Bradford monument thus perpetuates the memory of the Austerfield lad who early made the great decision of loyalty to his Divine Captain.

We now near the end of the lane adown which the Invincible Four strode onward into the shadows. In 1657, thirteen or fourteen years after the decease of Elder Brewster, and two years after that of Winslow and Standish, William Bradford, youngest and last of the faithful four, passed on.

Cotton Mather thus wreathes the memory of the peerless Bradford even as Bradford tenderly and affectionately laid his tribute of "Well done, faithful servant of the Lord" upon the bier of Elder William Brewster fourteen years before:

"He was a person for study as well as action, and attained unto a most notable skill in languages. The Dutch tongue was become almost as vernacular to him as the English; the French tongue he could also manage;

* It took a century to rear the memorial to General Mercer. The monument voted by Congress to honor Washington's close friend, General Nathaniel Green, the Rhode Island Free Quaker, has never been erected. The money waits the finding of his unknown grave. Green lost his Quaker heritage by his sword.



Courtesy of A. S. Burbank.

ENTABLATURED BOULDER LOCATING GOVERNOR WILLIAM BRADFORD'S FARM.

the Latin and Greek he had mastered, but the Hebrew most of all he studied because, as he said, he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty."

William Bradford. "Star Governor" of the Pilgrims, ruled for thirty-one years, was for four years Plymouth Commissioner to the Colonial Confederacy, and for two years its president

When death had closed the eyes of the Pilgrim leaders, the Puritan spoke in tender memory in pulpit and in home of those gone before.

As the wheel of time turned and Cotton Mather, reaching the inevitable, also passed on, thus spoke the requiem voices of his townsmen regarding the renowned Boston Divine:

"He was, perhaps, the principal Ornament of this Country, and the *greatest* Scholar that ever was bred in it. But, beside his unusual learning, *his* exalted Piety and extensive Charity, his entertaining Wit, and singular *Goodness* of temper recommended him to all that were Judges of real and distinguished merit."

The Major Bradford House was built by Major Brad-

ford, son of that first Major Bradford, and grandson of the old Governor. Grandsons of the early Pilgrims in the throes of living, inadvertently catering to man's longing for the visual, built on the sites of many of what we today know as



UNION MEETING OF THE
CONFEDERACY IN 1643.

Pilgrim shrines. One strolls with keen interest through pasture and woodland of Governor Bradford's farm of sacred interest, readily located by the tablet and doubtless a treasured possession to its Pilgrim owner.

"Out of small beginnings great things have been produced and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yes, in some sort to our whole nation."

moralizes William Bradford. and we know of no more appropriate spot on earth to repeat the old governor's dictum than the site of his doorstep. From this point of vantage, one may cast his eyes over sea and shore as Bradford viewed it each day, when, after morning prayers, he started forth to lead his followers to a full day's work.

Through the finding of Bradford's baptismal register some seventy-five years ago, the world is informed from what part of England the Pilgrims emigrated to Holland.

In 1643, a scant twenty-three years after the signing of the Compact in the Mayflower's cabin, the Pilgrims joined and signed with their Puritan brothers scattered through the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Saybrook and New Haven, making another compact, the New England Confederacy, following the Dutch and Iroquois example.

The First Federal Union on the American continent was formed in these opening words and signed by six foremost colonists, Winthrop, Dudley, Eaton, Fenwick, Hopkins, and Gregson.

That Union Meeting,* as shown in crude drawing fitting the times, was evidently a momentous occasion to these old

*See page 88.

worthies whom the artist depicts as deeply and cozily wrapped in thought and fitful slumber.

This is the trend of and in outline the story from the shores of the Trent and Gainsborough on June 11, 1602—



SWASHBUCKET FOOTGEAR.



CHARLES II.



A FAIR EXPONENT
OF DAME FASHION.

aye, back to the Isle of Thanet, in the year 449, and then forward twelve hundred years to 1643. The framing of the New England Confederacy—which lasted nominally fifty, but in real efficiency only twenty years, and was then dissolved—was a stage in political evolution, in due time merging into a colonial compact of larger proportions. The work of the six men, Winthrop, Dudley, Eaton, Fenwick, Hopkins and Gregson, at this initial meeting, was a virile part of the first American Confederacy of white men.

Allerton, who was the Pilgrims' messenger and diplomat to England, even more frequently than Edward Winslow, now began flagrantly to disobey instructions. With Shirley, one of the London stockholders, he started a trading-post at Castine on the Penobscot. Other colonist investors aided in

the venture, even though, in a sense, it conflicted with the Kennebec, Plymouth-backed branch. Pilgrim owners finally for financial protection turned the business over to a Mr. Willet, whom they employed to guard their interests, and for a time the venture proved a fairly profitable investment.

This was the same Joseph Willet, who, when overcome by the French was set adrift. It is said Pemaquid was the only regularly fortified fort captured from colonists through out and out Indian fighting—ambuscading, bush-whacking, and the torch, all favorite methods of Indian warfare. Close inspection, however, shows that in this attack the French lent a forceful hand to their native ally.



THE CLEFT IN THE PINE WHICH STOOD FOR THE OAK IN WHICH CHARLES II HID.



EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.

These were beclouded times for the English under the reign of Charles II, on whose features dissipation, the shirking of responsibility and undone duty had left marks of degeneracy. "Like king, like courtier."

The cavalier in times of the "Merry Monarch" was garbed in what might fittingly be called "swashbucklet" boots. Ridiculous fashions were seen in men's flow-

ing ringlets and grotesque raiment.

It was humiliating for this monarch and his dissipated cavaliers when the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter sailed up the Thames and flaunted the red, white, and blue of the Republican navy in the face of English men of war. Such an

act well proved that Charles II was bent more on jollification than on upholding the dignity and power of his throne.

Incidentally, the query as to why Charles II gave Pilgrim and Puritan a free hand is fully answered.

When the Massachusetts colony was taken to task by Charles II for coining its own silver in threepence, sixpence, and shillings (large quantities of bullion having come in from the West Indies) and leaving off the king's effigy and name, some elastic-minded Puritan convinced the king that the pine tree was not a pine but an oak, with a cleft trunk to symbolize the Royal Oak, wherein His Highness once hid from would-be captors. The teller of this story drew a long bow, but His Merry Majesty is said to have believed it. The cleft in the tree is clearly shown in the pine tree shilling.

The legend reads that flattery closed the royal eyes to the insults. Lest he might forget the scene wherein his father centred the stage, on January 30, 1649, Charles II kept the headsman busy canceling inherited debts, yet he gave William Penn a plot of land and free rein to found a commonwealth rich in varied freedom, discharging the debt he owed his father, the admiral.

Condensed, the story of the covenant and of the First Confederacy of America, founded in New England in 1643, of white men (for the Iroquois had one as wonderful and of much greater longevity) reads far differently from that of the Second Confederacy of 1861:

THE NEW ENGLAND COVENANT

"Through these articles each colony was to choose two church members as its commissioners, and these eight commissioners were 'to determine all affairs of

A brief Account of the
Province of **Pennsylvania.**
Lately Granted by the
K I N G,
Under the GREAT
Seal of England,
TO
WILLIAM PENN
AND HIS
Heirs and Assigns.

Since (By the good Providence of God, and the Favour of the King) a Colony in America is fallen to my Lot, I thought it not left my Duty, than my Humble Interest, to give some publick notice of it to the World, that those of our own or other Nations, that are inclin'd to Transplant themselves or Families beyond the Seas, may find another Country added to their Choice; that if they shall happen to like the Place, Conditions, and Government, (So far as the private Interest of Goods will allow on any prospect) they may, if they please, be with us in the Point, hereafter intended.

I. The KING'S Title to the Country before he granted it, is in the Free Gift, or Gift of Matrimony, that what ever Wills, or words, or Convey, in the Conveyance of any Person, it is the right of that Person that was at that Change of the Delivery; that this Province is a Member of that part of America, which the King of England himself has been at the Charge of Discovering, and which duty and his laws shall give care to preserve and improve.

I. William

PUBLICATION SHOWING WILLIAM PENN'S TITLE TO PENNSYLVANIA.

war and peace, number of men for war, division of spoils, and whatever was gotten by conquest.' No colony was to make war by itself, and in case of war the expenses and number of troops were to be proportioned among the four colonies according to their population. In all other matters each colony was to be as independent as before and to have entire control of its local affairs."

The name "confederacy," two hundred and eighteen years later, borrowed by the South was fought under during four long rasping years in the Brothers' War. It required some six years—from 1637 to 1643—for this earlier Confederacy to grow from inception to accomplished fact. Discussion waxed fiercely warm at festal board, conference, and synod, for both Pilgrim and Puritan excelled in argument and neither had had any experience in federal government. Rhode Island was still forced to remain an outsider. Thus wrote in derogation even fair-minded Governor Bradford to Governor Bellingham of Massachusetts in 1642:

"Concerning the Islands, we have no conversing with them, nor desire to have, further than necessity or humanity may require."

The New England Confederacy was a pronounced example of the fact that in union is strength. Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, Saybrook, and Connecticut, aggregating some twenty-five thousand colonists, all gathered under the sheltering wing of the new combination, which stood them in good stead, even without decisive action, by keeping Dutch, French and Indians guessing what next deed their enterprising, co-organized and valiant neighbors would perform.

Moral suasion, backed by a ready-for-battle-attitude, combined with virile preparedness prevented more than one war to the knife.

Brevity, directness, clearness, and completeness were Separatist characteristics, as seen ingrained in the Seven Leyden Articles, the Mayflower Compact, and the Massasoit treaty. These were as sheet anchors first adroitly cast, well grounded by the Pilgrims, and finally and appropriately merging in the New England Confederacy.

CHAPTER III

THE QUAKER IN NEW ENGLAND

THE COMING OF THE QUAKER

PLYMOUTH was dragged into the Quaker controversy, principally through that prolific tract writer, Humphrey Norton, who stirred up a veritable hornet's nest in the quaint old town. When Norton's tongue and pen formed such sentences as one reads in a book now in the British Museum from which we quote, it is little wonder the Pilgrims gagged him most properly:

"It being the account of Cruelty, the Professors's Pride, and the Articles of the Faith signified in Characters written in Blood, wickedly begun, barbarously continued, and inhumanly finished, so far as they have gone by the present power of darkness possest in the Priests and Rulers in New England, with the Dutch also inhabiting the same land"

"Written at sea by one whom the wicked in scorn call Quakers in the second month of the year 1659."

Humphrey Norton scores his namesake, John Norton, that minister brought from England by Edward Winslow, first settling in Scituate and later in Boston, saying:

"When his glass was out he began his sermon, wherein among many lifeless expressions he spake much of the danger of those who are called Quakers. Some of his hearers gaped on them as if they expected honey to drop from his lips, stating further that 'the justice of God is the armor of the Devil,' the which if true then is the Devil sometimes covered with justice, which is more than I ever heard any of his servants say in his behalf before."

Again says a Quaker scribe:

"J. Rous and H. Norton were moved to go to the great meeting-house at Boston upon one of their Lector days, where we found John Norton



HUMPHREY NORTON WAS GAGGED IN THIS MANNER IN THE PRESENCE OF GOVERNOR THOMAS PRENCE.

their teacher set up, who like a babbling Pharisee run over a vain repetition near an hour long, like an impudent smooth fac'd harlot."

As Quakers lashed with their tongues both the Pilgrim and the Puritan in biting sarcasm, this now non-existent type among the Friends was denounced as a ranter and disturber of the peace. One kind of Friend extant in those days may be judged by the acts and language of this same Humphrey Norton, who railed unmercifully at Governor Thomas Prentice in these militant words:

"Thou liest"; "Thomas, thou art a malicious man." "Thy clamorous tongue I regard no more than dust under my feet; and thou art like a woman, and thou pratest and deridest me. The strength of darkness is over thee, and a malicious mouth hast thou opened against God and his anointed;

Thos. Prence

and with thy tongue and lips hast thou uttered perverse things; thou hast slandered the innocent, by railing, lying, and false accusations, and with thy barbarous heart hast thou caused their blood to be shed . . . The curse, causeless, cannot come upon thee, nor the vengeance of God unjustly cannot fetch thee up . . . The deadly drink of the cup of indignation thou cannot escape, and the grief and cause of travail will not be greater than thine . . . Thou hast caused to defraud the righteous owner of his goods, and a heaping it up, as upon a hill, wherewith thou wilt purchase to thyself and others a field of blood, wherein to bury your dead. John Alden is to thee like a pack horse, whereupon you layest thy beastly bag; cursed are all they that have a hand therein . . . The anguish and pain that will enter thy veins will be like gnawing worms lodging betwixt thy heart and liver."

Thus insultingly Quaker Norton faced Governor Thomas Prence in court. "Gag the wretched ranter; we'll teach him to talk better of his betters," was the gist of the haughty Governor's reply to this active member of the church militant.

Plymouth laws against the Quakers read: "No Quaker, ranter, or any such 'corrupt person' should be a freeman of the corporation." "We cannot permit it," said the Pilgrim Fathers. "The diffusion of such sentiments through our little community will disturb our peace, will corrupt the purity of our faith, will engender hatred and strife, and will imperil the souls of our children. The toleration of such sects among us will defeat the object for which, with so much suffering and toil, we have come to America. If you desire liberty, go off by yourselves, and form an independent colony as we have; but come not within our borders, to be snares to our feet and thorns in our side." And still further it was ordered, "that if any person shall furnish any of them with

horse or horse kind, the same to bee forfeited and seized on, for the use of this Gov'ment; or any horses that they shall bring into the Gov'ment, shalbee brought for them and they make use of, shalbee forfeited, as aforesaid."

In kindly Pilgrim spirit, wishing to refute Quaker statements and convince heretics of error, the Plymouth authorities selected an argumentative committee to meet and reclaim the Quaker. In the clash of thought, to the horror of the good townspeople, Isaac Robinson, son of their beloved and translated leader, the Reverend John Robinson, was won over to Quaker views. Isaac was immediately debarred from office and persecuted to the point of imprisonment for this lapse from the faith of the Fathers and of his own revered father. Robinson, Allison, Cudworth, and Hatherly all lost magisterial offices for lukewarm rulings against Quakers. According to the town record given herewith, Duxbury especially came under the ban as harboring these people of the "Inner Light" and fostering their faith:

"Whereas there is a constant monthly meeting of Quakers from Divers places in great numbers, which is very offensive and may prove greatly prejudicial to the government, and as the most constant place for such meetings is at Duxbury, the Court have desired and appointed C. Southworth and W. Pabodie to repair to such meetings, together with the marshal or constable of the town, and to use their best endeavors, by argument and discourse, to convince or hinder them."

To the truth-seeker, a brief look in on Boston Town is now in order. This Puritan stronghold was closely connected with Plymouth by that famous Bay Path, forty miles or more in length, though the distance was shortened by water passage across the Big Bay. We may open wider the door for Quaker and alleged Witch to enter, and have them tell us in no uncertain tones of their uncanny, dire, and even deadly reception by the Massachusetts Bay folk.

The first four Reverend Johns of Boston had much to do with directing Puritan thought and act in these stirring times.

After the death of kind-hearted and genial Governor John Winthrop, in 1649, and of the Reverend John Cotton "of insinuating melting ways" in 1652, there came to the fore, in more pronounced fashion, the stern Governor John Endecott and the morbid and morose Reverend John Norton. This divine firmly believed that Satan's hirelings were ever near, yes, even just around the corner, to undermine, capture, and destroy. Thus believing, he made the road rockier for Quakers, Baptists, Gortonites, and other disturbers of the public mind and peace. During Winthrop's rule, one finds Quakers nagging the Elect and being more strenuously nagged in turn. In the "War of Words" each had "the stern joy that warriors feel." Both sides loved a fight.

Even Winthrop was so far under the spell of the times as to state in disgusting detail that the pure-minded Quakeress, Mary Dyer, had given birth to a demoniacal, frightful monster. The Quaker faith, in a sense, approached modern rationalism, in that the Quaker stripped the church of all ceremonial, objected to tithes, yielded no military service nor oaths, and believed in direct communication with the Lord without money and without price. Winthrop's statement, based on the craze of the day, savors of madness, and paralyzes the better part of human nature.

George Fox, the Quaker, like the vast majority of mankind in that day, believed in withches, witch-warts, and witch body-marks. Though unjustly persecuted himself he freely handed out the same harsh treatment to innocent victims of the unholy witch-condemning craze.

The Puritan kept within his charter rights when he banished schism breeders of every sort, whether adherents of Ann Hutchinson, George Fox, Roger Williams, Samuel Gorton, or others of their ilk. His charter, even in civil affairs, was his Bible, but he had not that clear view of the progress of doctrine, in that library of divine revelation and of human experience, which has come to us through historical study and the "higher," that is, literary and historical criti-

cism, so denounced because so misunderstood by the unlearned, even of today. Hence, he seemed often to forget that his Master had fulfilled the law of Moses. Hence, also he laid stress on Israelitish customs, fitted more for the desert and ancient Palestine than for the seventeenth of the Christian centuries. Yet one can hardly charge him with inconsistency, when so loyal to an idea that "more light" has made obsolete.

*Go: w m thop
Gw*

Barren of fear were the Quakers, who so deliberately went to Boston—a veritable lion's mouth. They flaunted their religion in the face of the law and the people. Marmaduke Stevens, on the scaffold, well demonstrated the unselfish Quaker belief when he said, "Be it known unto all this day that we suffer not as evil doers, but for conscience's sake." One Quaker in the strenuosity of his faith and zeal to serve the Lord, emulating the example of the patriarch Abraham, attempted to sacrifice his son on the altar of the faith.



STAGE COACH PASSENGERS OF COLONIAL TIMES "LIQUORING" AT MANCHESTER-BY-THE-SEA.

Curious and contradictory flashlights emanate from the Quaker of the seventeenth—so different from his successor in the twentieth—century. In one breath he tells the Puritan that his Bible is the word of the Devil. In the next, announces in beautiful paraphrase, that the Friend has no church home, but belongs to the Church Universal and In-

visible and worships the same God.

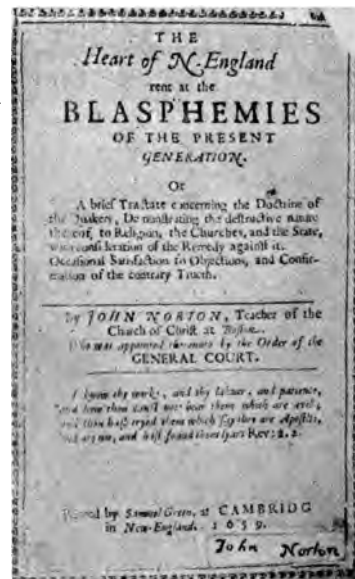
Throughout all those unedifying occurrences, in Plymouth, the chief actors against Quakerism were not of the first but the second generation. Reaction had reached the

point of bigotry. It is a law of nature that action and reaction are equal. In human nature also, the men of the new creed, lacking the sanctions and restraints of the heroic and creative age, fall back, reverting to primitive instincts. It is almost a commonplace with teachers of the negroes in the south that the second generation did not show anything like the eagerness or the earnestness of the freed men of the 60's. In the mirror of facts or conditions, not later theories, we can explain the relapse of the Plymouth former ideals and practice of tolerance.

The Seventeenth Century Quaker was bitterly persecuted by Governor Endecott, the Reverend John Norton, and others of the Elect. He was hanged by the Puritan in a wild paroxysm of fear, as the Friends thought, lest the new sect should not only undermine faith and apostacize

youth and age, but also block the efforts of the Elect to reach those gates of pearl and streets of gold that shone in the centre of the vision of Eternal Bliss ever tantalizingly held before the eyes of the devout Pilgrim and Puritan.

Not to be outdone by his co-religionist's acts that insulted the intelligence of other Christians, Thomas Newhouse stamped down the broad aisle of Boston's Old South Meeting House smashing glass bottles. The flying bits endangered the hands and eyes of the devout, as they were showered over pews and across aisles, while Newhouse loudly proclaimed: "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." The



"THE HEART OF NEW ENGLAND
BLASPHEMIES," BY JOHN
NORTON.

Friends of that day outdid the Puritans in reverting to the symbolical acts of the prophets of the Old Testament.

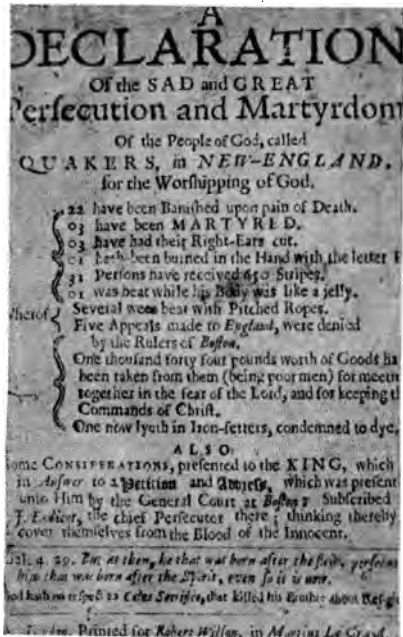
This Quaker madness was not confined to America, as contemporaneous Dutch and English records and pictures show clearly and abundantly. The Calvinists of Geneva erected a monument over Calvin's burial-place, expressing regret for some things their great teacher had done. Who knows but that similar monuments of regret and atonement may arise on our own soil?

It was in the year 1649 that Fox rose from his seat in Nottingham Church, England, contradicted the preacher, and startled the congregation into a mood that caused his arrest and imprisonment. He shouted—carrying his war against visible symbols into the depths of the soul—"No, it is not the Scriptures; it is the Holy Spirit who gave the Scriptures, who leads into all truth." Again, undaunted by threatened repetition of a jail sentence, Fox strode barefoot, in the dead of winter, through Litchfield streets crying in a loud voice, "Woe to the bloody city! Woe to the bloody city!" forecasting the coming of Mary Dyer and her companions. These women, to the horror of the good people of Boston, walked through the streets shroud-equipped for the grave. Daring arrest, they followed Fox's example. Using in the main his words, they proclaimed again and again, "We come to look your bloody laws in the face." This was saying in substance, "Do your worst; we court a martyr's death."

The Puritan governor gave short shrift to the Quaker. Said Endecott in that second sentencing of Mary Dyer, "Prepare yourself for nine o'clock tomorrow morning." The next day on the Common, that Boston Common now a household word to the entire world, symbolical of hilarious joy, parades, field sports and lovers' lanes to centuries of Bostonians, Mary Dyer was executed. All to the manor born revere this tract of land, the homestead holding of William Blaxton, Boston's first citizen, and forever and a day the playground of youth, the joy of old age.



GEORGE FOX.



A BOOK GRAPHICALLY DESCRIBING THE PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS.



Courtesy of Jones Bro. Pub. Co.

GEORGE FOX PREACHING

Wm. T. Sullivan

NO MORE INTERESTING RECORDS EXIST THAN THOSE OF QUAKERISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

"She came and stood in the Old South Church,
A wonder and a sign,
With a look like old-time sibyls wore,
Half crazed and half divine.

Save the mournful sackcloth about her wound,
Unclothed as the primal mother
With limbs that trembled and eyes that blazed
With a fire she dare not smother.

Loose on her shoulders fell her hair,
With sprinkled ashes gray;
She stood in the broad aisle strange and weird
As a soul at judgment day.

And the minister paused in his sermon's midst
And the people held their breath,
For these were the words the maiden spoke
Through lips as the lips of death.

"Repent! Repent! ere the Lord shall speak
In thunder and breaking seals!
Let all souls worship Him in the way
His light within reveals!"

She shook the dust from her naked feet,
And her sackcloth closer drew,
And into the porch of the awe-hushed church
She passed like a ghost from view.

They whipped her away at the tail o' the cart
Through half the streets of the town,
But the words she uttered that day nor fire
Could burn nor water drown."

Unfortunately, after 1803, the wife-whipper shared honors with other Boston lawbreakers by escaping that whipping-post punishment of which Delaware, even in the third decade of the twentieth century, boasts, while some long to see the same correction given in other states to any man who "lays his hand upon a woman, save in kindness."

Inborn love of the Winthrops for fair play caused John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut and son of the Massachusetts Governor, recognizing the gross injustice (Massachusetts being the only colony that dealt the death penalty to



Courtesy of Houghton, Mifflin Co.

THE UNMARKED GRAVES OF THE QUAKERS
EXECUTED ON BOSTON COMMON.



followers of George Fox), to say that he would gladly travel to Boston on his bare knees and appeal to the court, if, by so doing, he could "stop the unrighteous acts of the Magistrates of Massachusetts."

Not satisfied with their activities in Pilgrim and Puritan

land, the Quakers with indomitable zeal attempted to circle the world, and Mary Fisher set out for Jerusalem, expecting with her own eyes to see "the coming of the Lord."

The Barbarian Moor, whom Mary Fisher called upon on the journey to Jerusalem, very properly inspired no more fear than the barbarian (?) Puritan. According to Oriental custom, her credited insanity gave Mary Fisher respectful hearing before Eastern potentates.

For a century or more the Ottoman Empire had been more tolerant in matters of conscience than the papacy. It was in recognition of this fact that the "Beggars of the Sea" in the Netherlands fought the Spaniards so desperately and so successfully. They wore the "half moon," or silver crescent, on which was engraved the motto: "Better the Turk than the Pope," and from this emblem of victory the exploring ship of Henry Hudson was named—the Half Moon.

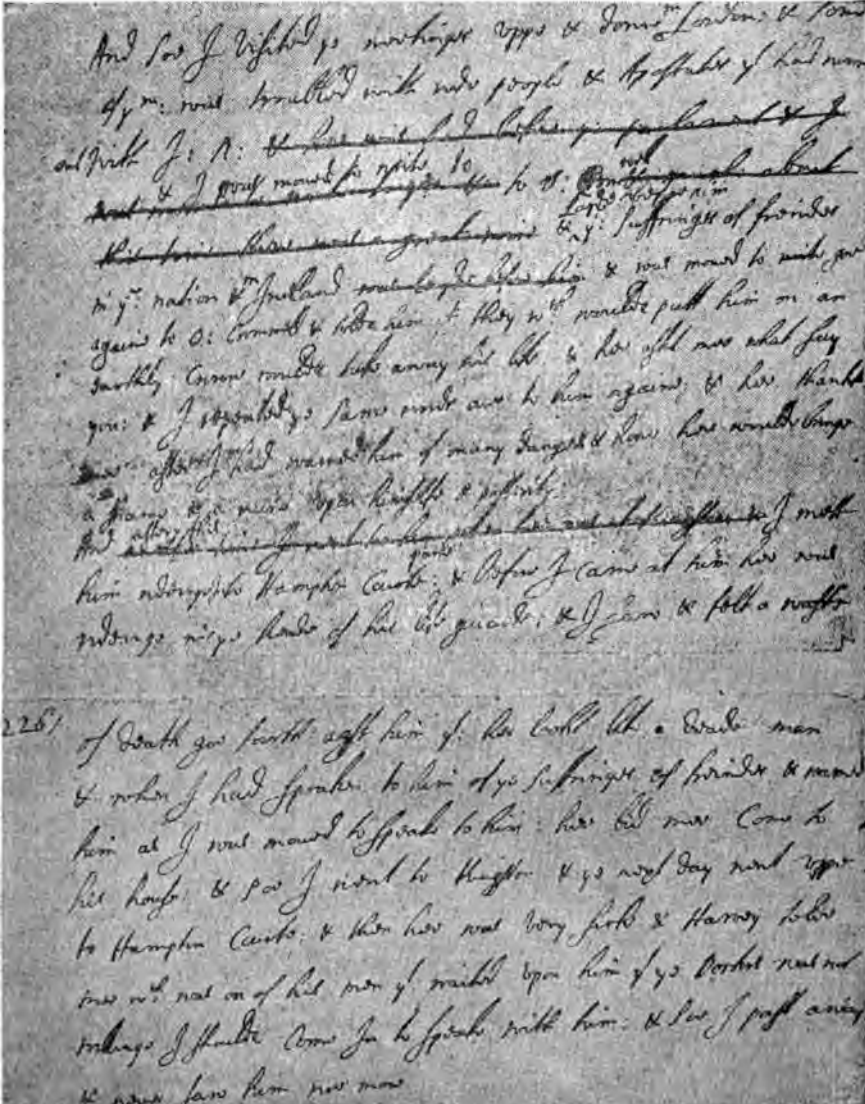
"Through Smyrna's plague-hushed thoroughfares,
Up sea-set Malta's rocky stairs,
Gray olive slopes of hills that hem
Thy tombs and shrines, Jerusalem,
Her tireless feet have held their way;
And still unrestful, bowed and gray,
She watches under Eastern skies,
With hope each day renewed and fresh,
The Lord's quick coming in the flesh,
Whereof she dreams and prophesies."

Hail to thee, Whittier, who garbs with sweet poesy acts that shame mankind.

Ear-lobbing as a punishment for avowed adherence to the doctrines of the Friends seems to have been monopolized by three persons, Christopher Holden, John Copeland, and John Rous. When George Fox died in 1690 the faith lapsed a trifle, the cult missing his forceful aid. The belief of the Friends may be summarized in a line: *The acceptance of Christian revelation and authority, careful reading and pon-*

dering of the Scriptures, and action only under the prompting of the Spirit.

The first verses submitted by the gentle poet of New England to any publisher were traced with blue pencil on rough yellow paper and thrust under the door of William



And so I visited the meetings at Dorchester & some
 of the most troubled with such people & I thought I had never
 seen such a state of things before. I was much surprised to find
 that the people were so much affected with the Spirit of God
 that they were ready to do anything for the suffering of friends
 in the nation & I thought I had never seen such a state of things
 before. I was much surprised to find that the people were so much
 affected with the Spirit of God that they were ready to do anything
 for the suffering of friends in the nation & I thought I had never
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 people were so much affected with the Spirit of God that they were
 ready to do anything for the suffering of friends in the nation &
 I thought I had never seen such a state of things before.

LETTER OF GEORGE FOX, THE QUAKER.

Lloyd Garrison's editorial room, while their bashful author scuttled hastily down the crooked back stairway. The sheet held over the waste basket for final disposal, was rejected mainly because of its untoward appearance.



John Endecott.

Then a single word caught the attention of the great agitator, himself an amateur poet, and the youth Whittier was saved for his day, generation and posterity, to aid in swinging public opinion to the side of the Friend and the slave and for the general uplift of the race.

Questions of life and death faced the iron-hearted governor, John Endecott, when he said in substance:

"Four already have been slain;
And others banished upon the pain of death.
But they come back again to meet their doom,
Bringing the linen for their winding sheets.
We must not go too far, In truth I shrink
From shedding of more blood. The people
murmur at our severity."

Concerning Sir Walter Scott, one versifier mourned:

"Alas
That Scottish bard should wake the note
The triumph of our foes to tell."

and so some radical Quaker may think of Whittier, but the overwhelming majority of the Friends now turn flaming theory into practice. In place of fiery theology they live more for ethics, benevolence, the feeding of the hungry, the clothing of the naked, and the teaching of the ignorant. The school, missionary, and philanthropic labors of the Friends of today are beyond praise.

Boston Town, as ever in its history, certainly saw stirring times in the late seventeenth century. A few followers of the leather-garbed Quaker, George Fox, symbolized the

nakedness of sin, as pictured in the Book of Books, by walking streets and entering churches and public buildings as nude as a Greek statue. The Quaker preacher, Deborah Wilson, was a pronounced example of this sophistic argument.

John Deman, Mrs. Marsfield, and Mary Rhodes danced in the meeting-houses in birthday suits, trailing the faith of the Friends in dust and mire through mistaken zeal. Quakers wore their hats in meeting and Quakeresses brought their spinning-wheels, noisily running them during service, to the confusion, scandal, and righteous indignation of domine and congregation.

Summing up for both sides, in perspective and present view, may we not all agree that the Salem City magistrates were wise in rejecting the proposed gift of a "work of art" that represented a tiger about to devour a woman? No such Quakers as the Puritan knew would ever have founded, with William Penn, the City of Brotherly Love or the "godly experiment" of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. In a word, "Time at last sets all things even," for both Puritan and Quaker now recognize good in the other, as they in the world's broad harvest field are "binding the self-same sheaf" of religion.

The pride of each New England village was the meeting house.* When multiplied, these edifices seem to have been molded on the same drafting-board. Size, location, and steeple design made this rallying point of external religion the outstanding feature in the landscape. The walls of the old Newbury meeting-house, could they but speak, would unfold a blood-curdling tale of Quaker persecution and theocratic rulings by the clerical oligarchy, which then rigidly controlled religious thought and action. In a word, much the same human passions, cloaked under the name of religion and finding vent in the name of God, in forms of

*That Hingham meeting-house, built in 1681, the pride of the Puritan church, designed by Architect Charles Joy, when Pilgrim or Puritan purses bulged sufficiently, was duplicated in many a New England hamlet.

violence that contradicted theory and profession, as in the Roman hierarchy, the Buddhist Court of the Lamas, and the despotism of Islam, impelled the Puritan. Human nature—in which the beast inheritance, or, in mediæval



ENDECOTT CUTTING THE
RED CROSS FROM THE
KING'S COLORS.

language, total depravity—is still an ever active element, remained. No matter what may be the outward form of faith, doctrine, or work, man cannot fly from himself. He is still chained to an animal body which, unless dominated by reason, piety, and a will in harmony with God, means death to the true religion which Micah defined and Jesus embodied in his life, as being acceptable to the Master of Souls.

Nailed firmly to Christianity's mast is the banner that for centuries has had its pure white folds of peace, love, good-will, and brotherhood unfurled in the face of a selfish carnage-desolation beyond the power of mere man, in his own strength, to successfully combat. That standard the Prince of Peace still bears, not on the "broad road that leads to destruction," but rather on the narrow path, with here and there a traveler.

"The hand that cut the Red Cross from the colors of the king, can cut the red heart from this heresy."

Thus in spirit said the conscience-bound Endecott as in the first act he defied the king and his soldiery, in the second such of the populace as favored the Quaker and his faith.

Humiliating to acknowledge, Pilgrims were indirectly responsible for the harrowing fate of the Southwicks. On May 11, 1659, these with others were sentenced to leave Plymouth before June 8. The Southwicks fled to Salem and thence were deported to the "House of Bondage" in Boston. Lawrence Southwick, his wife Cassandra, and his son Josiah,

THE QUAKER IN NEW



QUAKERS DOING THEIR DUTY AS THEY

with Samuel Shattuck ("the devil") were imprisoned together in Boston T

Incredible though it now seems, Chauncey, that former Plymouth pa of Harvard College, true to his belie cruelty, comparing tender childhood manly womanhood with ravening wo his pulpit in his Thursday lecture: " trap, shall you allow them to escape a

On Deer Island, tortured by fl the old people escaped farther pers

the son Josiah was flogged out of the world with *six hundred and fifty* stripes. Even the scripture "forty stripes thou shalt give him and not exceed" was forgotten, as the tiger inheritance dominated unconsciously the will of these men who thought they were doing God service.



CASSANDRA SOUTHWICK ON THE AUCTION BLOCK.
ONE PURITAN CRIME BLACK AS NIGHT.

No one more clearly than John Robinson stated the wickedness that is done in the name of religion. The next move depicted in folklore at least, if not in the realm of reality, in the unholy tragedy, shows Edward Batten, treasurer of Salem colony, giving orders to the sheriff for the sale of Cassandra to the highest bidder to pay the fine exacted for not attending meeting. Cassandra (Provided) Southwick (daughter of Lawrence Southwick) typifies in colonial records the diabolical machinations of these crazed religionists, who relentlessly persecuted Quakers. In the poet's concept of those tragic times, the sheriff voices the court's sentence of the innocent little maiden immortalized by Whittier:

THE QUAKER IN NEW

"Then to the stout sea captains the
'Which of ye, worthy seamen, v
'In the Isle of fair Barbadoes or
'You may hold her at a higher
Moor.'"

Let us charitably hope, though
wise, that folklore is responsible
rivalling the grossest acts that misg
of religion, has perpetrated.

The knight of the sea anathema
all time in these words:

"Pile my ship with bars of silver, pack w
From keel piece up to deck plank the re
By the living God who made me! I wo
Sink ship and crew and cargo than bear

Things in the old Bay State
Naught but "God-a-mighty" could
Elect Puritans when they believed
Wenlock Christison at heart recant
occasional Puritan first principle, a
cover a double meaning, when h
enigmatical letter that gave him fre
tion asked and answered pro and
Quaker and non-Quaker of all lands

The handwriting of the three
for the faith, though Greek to the
expert graphologist—if his colors f
stuff of which martyrs are made.

At his house in Long Acre Ro
Governor Endecott submitted to t
through the Quaker, Shattuck.

Up King, once Long, Street, S
in arm followed by street loungers
Puritans, boldly strode shipmaster
Shattuck, the Salem Quaker known

imprisoned with the Southwicks, and well aware of their sad fate. Onlookers to a man queried in wild-eyed wonderment "What next?" Passing the Town House, where poetic license erroneously places the history-making interview, the nondescript procession kept up Prison Lane (Court Street) to Boston's Rotten Row on Longacre Street—today Tremont Row. Bearding stern Puritan Governor Endecott in his office den near Cotton (Pemberton) Hill, the two messengers personally presented the King's Missive that made necessary strenuous reading, earnest thinking and quick action by Governor Endecott and Deputy Governor Bellingham. Men in those days were terrorized by the belief that disaster came through the Quaker heretic. He was dealt harsh treatment with lavish hand by these seventeenth century Puritan crusaders, because they thought that Satan himself was egging on these viper-obsessed humans, whom they would crush out of life as one would flatten a rattlesnake coiled to strike. This was the cry of the hour from clergyman and physician almost to a man, who were backed by a large majority of the populace, thus stampeded from reason and righteousness.

Sparing the lives of Quakers and other heretics, to their minds caused the Lord to punish "His people," by letting loose hordes of murderous Indians. These, "The Chosen" believed, were held in leash, awaiting their full time for properly punishing the church laggard, who allowed the Devil indwelling in the Quaker tabernacle to breathe.

Thus the Quaker poet of New England dramatically outlines the interview between Samuel Shattuck, bearer of the King's Missive and Governor Endecott:

"The door swung open, and Rawson the Clerk
Entered and whispered underbreath:
'There waits below for the hangman's work
A fellow banished on pain of death,—
Shattuck of Salem, unhealed of the whip,
Brought over in Master Goldsmith's ship,
At anchor here in a Christian port
With freight of the Devil and all his sort!'



Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Co.

SHATTUCK, "THE DEVIL," ON HIS WAY TO DISCONCERT
GOVERNOR ENDECOTT.

Did we count on this?—Did we leave behind
 The graves of our kin, the comfort and ease
 Of our English hearths and homes, to find
 Troublers of Israel such as these?

Mary Trask *Richard Bellingham Gov^r*
Margaret Smith
or *Penelope Bellingham*

QUAKER SIGNATURES.

THE GOVERNOR'S WIFE.

'Shall I spare? Shall I pity them? God forbid!
 I will do as the prophet to Agag did:
 They come to poison the wells of the word,
 I will hew them in pieces before the Lord!'

Twice and thrice on his chamber floor
 Striding fiercely from wall to wall,
 'The Lord do so to me and more,'
 The Governor cried, 'if I hang not all!
 Bring hither the Quaker.' Calm, sedate,
 With the look of a man at ease with fate,
 Into that presence grim and dread
 Came Samuel Shattuck with hat on head.

'Off with the knave's hat!' An angry hand
 Smote down the offence; but the wearer said
 With a quiet smile: 'By the King's command
 I bear his message and stand in his stead.'
 In the Governor's hand a missive he laid
 With the Royal Arms on its seal displayed,
 And the proud man spake as he gazed thereat,
 Uncovering, 'Give Mr. Shattuck his hat.'

He turned to the Quaker, bowing low;
 'The King commandeth your friends' release
 Doubt not he shall be obeyed, although
 To his subjects' sorrow and sin's increase.

THE QUAKER IN NEW ENGLA



SCOURGING A QUAKER.



WHIPPING QUAKERS AT THE CART'S TAIL IN

"KEEP BACK, DAUGHTER; THE AWFUL MEN MAY HU
AND SOUL."

What he here enjoineth John Endecott
 His loyal servant questioneth not.
 You are free! God grant the spirit you own
 May take you from us to parts unknown.'

So the door of the jail was open cast,
 And like Daniel out of the lion's den,
 Tender youth and girlhood passed
 With age-bowed women and gray-locked men;
 And the voice of one appointed to die
 Was lifted in praise and thanks on high,
 And the little maid from New Netherland
 Kissed, in her joy, the doomed man's hands."

Thus verbatim reads the King's Missive, which Shattuck, the alleged "devil," handed to the Governor. The contents made nauseating "crow eating" to haughty Endecott as he bowed in humble submission to his royal master's command.

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Having been informed that several of our subjects amongst you, called Quakers, have been and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others (as hath been represented unto us) are in danger to undergo the life: We have thought fit to signify our pleasure in that behalf for the future, and do hereby require, that if there be any of those people now amongst you, now already condemned to suffer death or other corporal punishment, or that are imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein, but that you forthwith send the said persons, whether condemned or imprisoned, over into this Our Kingdom of England, together with the respective crimes or offenses laid to their charge, to the end such course may be taken with them here as shall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits; and for so doing these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge.

"Given at Our Court at Whitehall the ninth day of Sept., 1661, in the thirteenth year of Our Reign.

"To Our trusty and well-beloved John Endecott, Esquire, &c.

"By his Majesty's Command,

"William Morris."

Courteously, yet firmly drawn was the King's Missive: whose working out brought an end for the time to Quaker

persecution by Endecott and Bellingham, including the freeing of all Quakers. This action was governed largely by pique and with the intent to block a colonial clash with the English courts, if Quakers were sent to England to be tried.



Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Co.

QUAKERS RELEASED FROM PRISON.

In despondent, desperate mood, in the following words or those of like import, spoke Governor Endecott of Massachusetts to Richard Bellingham, Deputy Governor, after he had thrown open the jail doors and freed the Quakers:

ENDECOTT

"I tell you, Richard Bellingham,—I tell you,
That this is the beginning of a struggle
Of which no mortal can foresee the end.
I shall not live to fight the battle for you,
I am a man disgraced in every way;
This order takes from me my self-respect
And the respect of others. 'Tis my doom,
Yes, my death-warrant,—but must be obeyed!
Take it, and see that it is executed
So far as this, that all be set at large;
But see that none of them be sent to England
To bear false witness, and to spread reports
That might be prejudicial to ourselves. (Exit Bellingham.)

There's a dull pain keeps knocking at my heart,
Dolefully saying, "Set thy house in order,
For thou shalt surely die, and shalt not live!"
For me the shadow on the dial-plate
Goeth not back, but on into the dark!"

The above lines by our poet, Longfellow, of Pilgrim ancestry, clearly picture the inbred loyalty of the Puritan to his king. It is not surprising that the Tory spirit, later fostered into aggressive being in New England by Governor Joseph Dudley, son of old Governor Thomas Dudley, had staunch adherents on every hand. When in 1776 the British army evacuated Boston, it is said that one-fourth of Boston's population went with the army to Canada, to form that body of United Empire Loyalists, which was so long an influential unit in Canadian history.

Thus soliloquized Richard Upsall after Endecott freed the Quakers:

"One brave voice rose above the din,
Upsall gray with his length of days
Cried, from the door of his Red-Lion Inn,
'Men of Boston! give God the praise!
No more shall innocent blood call down
The bolts of wrath on your guilty town;
The freedom of worship dear to you
Is dear to all, and to all is due.

'I see the vision of days to come,
When your beautiful City of the Bay
Shall be Christian liberty's chosen home,
And none shall his neighbor's rights gainsay;
The varying notes of worship shall blend,
And as one great prayer to God ascend;
And hands of mutual charity raise
Walls of salvation and gates of praise!"

So passed the Quakers through Boston town,
Whose painful ministers sighed to see
The walls of their sheep-fold falling down,
And wolves of heresy prowling free.

But the years went on, and brought no wrong;
 With milder counsels the State grew strong,
 As outward Letter and inward Light
 Kept the balance of truth aright."

Edward Rawson.

THE CLERK.

Tho: Shepard.

WHO SOMETIMES SHOWED THE BIT-
 TER JOHN NORTON SPIRIT.

In an age when kings were believed by the common people to clasp hands with Divinity, a faith such as the Friends professed and built into a noble edifice of Christian policy and practice found a shining example in William Penn. He quickened into legitimate life and forceful being



Courtesy Jones Bros. Pub. Co.

WILLIAM PENN AND THE INDIAN.

Wm Penn.

the Quaker faith in America. Standing fearlessly before his august king, Charles II, and democratically calling him "Friend Charles," he refused to even doff his hat in vain courtesy, or to use high-sounding titles. Penn preached the fundamental doctrine of the Friends, his speech being well sprinkled with "thee" and "thou."

In return for and payment of debts due to his father,

Admiral Penn, whose armor hangs in the cathedral at Bristol, England, William Penn received a magnificent grant of a verdure-clad tract of land named by the king "Penn-Sylvan" or the Groves of Penn. The Merry Monarch would not give his own name, Carolus-Sylvan, to the region.

Henry Dunster

DUNSTER, FIRST PRESIDENT OF HARVARD COLLEGE, MADE RULES WHICH WERE IN FORCE FOR ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

Possibly even a flash of conscience, in thus appropriating the Indian's land as his own, may have been an element in coining the sonorous word. However this may be, Penn had a conscience that prompted him, on reaching America, to pay the Indians right royally for their patrimony, although his bestowal from the king gave him a fee simple possession. The site of the treaty tree at Shakamaxon on the Delaware is marked by a marble monument. The treaty tree was blown down in 1811. Of this treaty Voltaire said "never sworn to and never broken."

That "Inner Light" of the Holy Spirit calling for golden silence, deep conscience searching, and betterment of his fellow men; the abolition of capital punishment for minor offences, more comfortable jails, prison reform methods, and to redeem character even more than to wreak vengeance; the end of human slavery and war; the improvement and uplift of the retarded races at home, active foreign missionary enterprise, and the devel-



© Charles Scribner's Sons

ANN BURDEN, THE QUAKERESS.

opment of arbitration, all centered in and emanated from the Friends. For the lasting good of the commonwealth and the nation, and for the mitigation of the horrors of war and its aftermath of famine, pestilence, and beggary, the Friends still labor and work in noble discontent at the lingering savagery and barbarities in Christendom.

Through the entire span of William Penn's life, the Indian never killed a Quaker. The outlandish and worse acts of the sect in its early evolution which men condemn, may have been caused by individual eccentricities, at times bordering insanity, but the underlying principles of the Friends still exist and will continue to move and finally control the world.

Massachusetts feared the incoming of Quakers as it did the smallpox. President Dunster of Harvard College from 1656 to 1662 was deeply concerned over what he imagined was the undermining of Christian faith by these newcomers.

In these words the Colonial Quaker pilloried the Puritan, his persecutor:



© The Century Co.

THE QUAKER IN THE YEAR 1921.

"A man that hath a covetous and deceitful rotten heart, lying lips, which abound among them, and a smooth, fawning, flattering tongue and short hair and showing deadly enmity against those that are called Quakers and others



Wm. Penn



New-England's Spirit of Persecution

Translated To

PENNSILVANIA,

And the Pretended Quaker found Persecuting the True

Christian - Quaker,

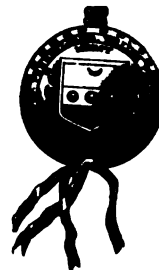
IN THE

TR Y A L

OF

*Peter Bofs, George Keish, Thomas Budd,
and William Bradford,*

in the Sessions held at Philadelphia the Ninth, Tenth and
Twelfth Days of December, 1692. Giving an Account
of the most Arbitrary Procedure of that Court.



Printed in the Year 1692.

DETAILS IN THE LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN.

that oppose them, such a hypocrite is a fit man to be a member of any N. England church."

This was the notion of the Quaker militant. His medium of vision seems like that of a cheap, distorted window-pane of glass. Persecution and martyrdom roused ire and unbridled tongues that most rancorously lashed Pilgrim and Puritan on all occasions. Time, the great leveler,

THE QUAKER IN NEW ENGLAND

the working alike of outward events,
"Light," developed the Friend of later
glass can be made as flawless as the lens

Can one imagine a more altruistic
modern Friends' meeting-house, where,
lovers of humanity commune in their
they may influence for good their fellow
in its upward climb.

"The Puritan spirit perishing not
To Concord's yeomen the signal
And spake in the voice of the cannon-
That severed the chains of a cont
With its gentler mission of peace and
The thought of the Quaker is living
And the freedom of soul he prophesied
Is gospel and law where its martyrs

CHAPTER IV

COMING OF THE BAPTISTS—THE AMERICAN INDIAN—JOHN ELIOT

COMING OF THE BAPTISTS—A LEAF OF BAPTIST HISTORY

THE next eruption in the House of the Elect was by the Baptists through Clark, Crandall, and Holmes, the latter formerly of Plymouth, who met at Witten's house. Instead of a fine, Obadiah Holmes suffered a public thrashing.

A controversy was held between this Obadiah Holmes, imprisoned for being a Baptist, and the Reverend John Wilson, former rector of St. Botolph's and later pastor of the First Church of Boston-on-the-Charles. Both men took reverently and loyally on their lips the name of Jesus. Holmes, with bared head and reverent air, said, "I bless God I am counted worthy to suffer in the name of Jesus." The minister shrieking with passion, struck the defenceless man, coupling the blow with the words: "The curse of Jesus go with you!"

Such were the points of view from which these two intensely zealous men looked at the problem of the soul and God.

Obadiah Holmes of Plymouth thus describes his heartless treatment by Boston authorities:

"In truth, as the stroaks fell upon me, I had such a spirituall manifestation of God's presence as the like thereto I never had, nor felt, nor can with fleshly tongue expresse; and the outward pain was so removed from me, that indeed I am not able to declare it to you, it was so easy to me that I could well bear it, yea, and in a manner felt it not, although it was grievous; as the Spectators said, the Man striking with all his strength (yea, spitting on his hands three times, as many affirmed) with a three-coarded whip, giving me



OCCASIONALLY PORTRAITS OF WORTHIES OF COLONIAL DAYS BECOME BONES OF CONTENTION TO THEIR DESCENDANTS. FOR INSTANCE, IS THIS THE PORTRAIT OF JOHN CLARK WHO SETTLED RHODE ISLAND OR OF DR. JOHN CLARK, RESIDENT OF IPSWICH AND BOSTON, A RARE DISCIPLE OF ESCULAPIUS? THE CONSENSUS OF OPINION IS THAT NO PORTRAIT OF THE RHODE ISLAND CLARK EXISTS, AND THAT THIS IS THE WELL-KNOWN SKULL-STUDENT OF IPSWICH AND BOSTON.



THE COMING OF THE BAPTISTS.

therewith thirty strokes. When he had loosed me from the Post, having joyfullnesse in my heart."

Baptists were not molested until they denounced the practice of infant baptism and set up separate "conventicles." Then the precedents of the English Establishment were followed on American soil. Cotton Mather showed extreme fairness toward the Baptist when he said:

"Many of the first settlers in Massachusetts were Baptists, and they were as holy, and watchful, and fruitful and heavenly a people as any perhaps in the world."

It may be possible to sum up with justice the question of persecution in New England, almost unknown in the Middle Colonies founded by the tolerant Dutch and Quakers. In a single instance, Stuyvesant, the persecutor, was rebuked from Holland by return mail.

One may, without apology, but only for explanation, remark that Englishmen, who had for centuries lived under autocratic and centralized forms in religion, could not easily change methods when themselves confronted with problems of administration. On the Continent the Reformation movement sprang from the people, and when not crushed out by king, emperor, or pope, was carried on by the people. In England religion was reformed by an autocrat, and the intense loyalty of the Puritans to monarchical systems mightily influenced their actions when in America.

The Indian question now came to the front in most serious form.

"I want these boys of mine to be like Englishmen," said the friendly Massasoit to the Governor, and the Pilgrims later by court action gave the boys a start in their new life by bestowing the historic names of Alexander and Philip, after Alexander the Great and Philip of Macedon, which immensely tickled the fancy of the two youngsters. When grown, Philip often pompously referred to his il—

lustrious namesake. Both lads proved unworthy, both were treacherous, and later, as a king, Philip was a death-dealer in most hideous form to his Pilgrim godfather and Puritan brothers.

The death of Massasoit in 1661, followed in 1662 by that of his son Alexander (Wamsutta) left affairs of his small but influential tribe solely in the hands of his other son, King Philip (Metacomet) of Mount Hope (Montaup).

The death of Alexander soon following his arrest on a charge of conspiracy—attributed by Philip to poison* instead of illness—was one of the elements which some fifteen years later aided in precipitating King Philip's war. There was excitement in Plymouth in 1667, when Queen Weetamo, wife of Alexander, who hated the whites as lustily as did her brother-in-law, King Philip, was found drowned under the ice in a neighboring pond. With



WEETAMO, SISTER OF KING PHILIP.



MASSASOIT WITH HIS TWO SONS.

poor judgment, her head was cut off and set upon a high pole in full view. This added fuel to Indian wrath and accomplished no good end.

Westward lay Taunton, in whose church King Philip of the Wampanoags deceitfully signed the treaty in 1671 where-
in he promised the Pilgrims to surrender all firearms, **which** he did to the extent of some forty old muskets. **T**his may have been a useless, nagging expedient, but the **t**reaty gave colonists a four-year breathing-space before

* Normal death to the Indian was represented by tomahawk and arrow. Disease was abnormal, and often considered as a synonym with poison.

the breaking out on a large scale of the inevitable Indian war. This delay aided also in a much speedier settlement and strengthening of both Connecticut and the Old Bay State.

The Reverend John Eliot, apostle to the Indians, who was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, England, appears as the first pronounced Abolitionist of New England, Samuel Sewall in his "Selling of Joseph" proving a worthy second. Expostulating against the sale of Indians as slaves Eliot pithily said: "To sell souls for money seems to me a dangerous merchandise." John Eliot fully believed in the theory then held that the Indians were the ten lost tribes of Israel. Since then scores of writers have discovered them elsewhere—in China, Japan, early Britain, etc.—but the only way these tribes were lost was in parting with their genealogies. Eliot, the better to accomplish conversion of the Indian, mastered Algonquin, today a dead language, save as the Ojibway tongue in occasional words and sentences duplicates it. Eliot preached his first Indian sermon at Waban in 1646, four years after Domine Megapolensis had preached in New Netherland in "the heavy tongue of the Mohawks." Knowing the fibre of Eliot's mind, one quite understands that he absolutely believed what he said. The Indian, ever a querist, was ingeniously silenced by Eliot's excuse for the shipwreck of a Pilgrim vessel: "It is true that Satan wrecked the vessel on Cohasset Rocks, but the Lord saved the cargo," Eliot thus diplomatically settling, for the red man as well as himself, an ever-present issue, though reluctantly admitting partnership between God and the devil. Theology, or the philosophy of the universe, is man's adjustment of what he believes to what he has learned. During King Philip's War, blind terror caused the colonists to banish to bleak Deer Island, in Boston Harbor, owned by Colonel Shrimpton, in the dead of winter and subject to intense suffering, the converted Indians. Even the lives of Eliot and Gooking, their unselfish teachers and advocates,



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JOHN ELIOT PREACHING TO THE INDIANS.

who supervised the transfer, were threatened. Yet these missionaries believed and had argued with reason that their wards would side with the whites—which they did, to an astonishing degree, in view of the harsh unchristian treatment accorded those native followers of the Master.

One could wish authority weightier than that of a London picture which has no contemporary written record accompanying it to guarantee correct portraiture. Only through such a traditional representation can posterity look upon the sole portrait extant of John Eliot. Eliot's Indian Bible was completed in 1663, after years of intense study, but, like the lost arts of the ancients, since the decease of J. Hammond Trumbull, it has no interpreters.

The word "Mugwump" has come to us as a legacy from this same Eliot Bible, and probably some others less prominent or arresting attention.

All honor to these early preachers of the Good News of God to native Americans! The registers of the Reformed churches show the names of many Indian converts. Alongside or in the classes for the recitation of the catechism of the Dutch church sat the little Indian catechumens.

Characteristic of all primitive languages are names picturesque and long. These Indian words required deep breathing to pronounce properly, for many of them were in themselves condensed descriptive sentences. Here are two specimens:

Nukkitteamonteanitteaonganunnonash

Nummehouontamwutteahaonganunnonash

Often these long words were not genuine native vocables, but circumlocutions made by the translator to express alien thoughts in Indian speech.

Time was not a desideratum with the Indian. In his mind lurked no cankering fear of losing the next train; no nightmare of having tomorrow's note protested disturbed his peace of mind. No word in common use of any measure of time less than an hour was known among the tribes.

A man of rare parts was the Reverend Samuel Danforth, head of Harvard College and at one time Eliot's associate. Neither the inadequacy of his salary nor the provocation given by unworthy men in the neighborhood could persuade him to "remove unto more comfortable settlement." Cotton Mather, the most observing man of his time, says that Danforth was very affectionate in his method of preaching, which had in it the wooing note: "seldom leaving the pulpit without tears." Then pithily and arrogantly Mather adds, with but scant courtesy for Danforth's widely known scientific attainments, "several of his astronomical composites have seen the light of the sun."

Eliot was keenly disappointed to find, on the very eve of instituting the church at Natick, that three Indians were victims of alcoholic drink. Eliot writes: "Three Indians of ye unsound sort had got several quarts of strong water! . . . There fell out a very great discouragement which might have been a scandal to them, and I doubt not but Satan intended it so. But the Lord improved it to stir up faith and prayer, and so turned it another way."

Among many who spoke the Indian language were Leverett, and Richard Bourne of Sandwich. The latter was evidently an evangel of note, as he is credited in 1685 with having "converted" fourteen hundred and thirty-nine Indians. We have also Eliot's authority for the statement that the Rev. John Cotton of Plymouth, son of the Rev. John Cotton of both Bostons, was his (Eliot's) superior in knowledge of the Indian tongue. Eliot in his earliest teachings prayed in English, lest he offend his Maker by the use of incorrect Indian words. Zealous interest in the Indians' conversion caused many of the clergy to master more or less thoroughly Indian dialects. Loquacious Cotton Mather when firmly astride hyperbole—one of his favorite hobbies—and evidently in elephantine mood, writes thus of Eliot:

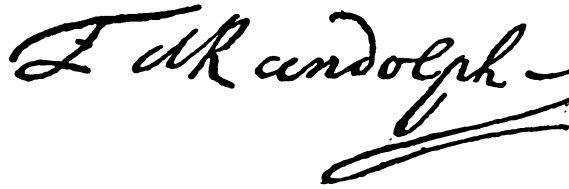
"Lambs might wade into his discourses on those
texts and themes wherein elephants might swim."

In addition to that difficult task—the translation of the Bible into Indian dialect, by the apostle Eliot—both Roger Williams and the Reverend John Sargent of Stockbridge mastered much of the Algonquin speech. Of this vast sea of language in which the Iroquois Confederacy was as an island, there were many dialects. Roger Williams took such interest that he declared he "would not lightly lose what he dearly bought."

As early as 1634 there were fourteen Christian Indian villages near or among the white settlements and their influence both in the wars with the Pequots in 1637 and in that

of King Philip in 1675, did much to smother the torch and sheathe the scalping knife.

The trouble maker, Edward Randolph, with backbiting malice and outrageous lies, stated in his report to



London in September, 1676, that "Eliot and his friends have been the most barbarous and cruel enemies." This state-

ment more blackly smirches the writer himself, than the victim of it. Randolph was the king's man whom historians occasionally treat somewhat apologetically.

"Feb. 28, 1675.

"Reader, thou art desired not to suppress this paper, but to promote the design, which is to testify (those traitors to their King and country) Guggins and Danford, that some generous spirits have vowed their destruction; as Christians we warn them to prepare for death, for though they will deservedly die, yet we wish the health of their souls.

"By the New Society.

A. B. C. D."

This placard, badly weather-stained, preserved in Massachusetts' archives, evidently emanated from disreputable sources. Encouraged by Randolph's attitude, it threatened Gookins and Danforth, who so thoroughly befriended the savages. This friendship was of decided moment, for those Indians who had been taught by Pilgrim and Puritan missionaries refused to enter upon the blood-smeared warpath with their comrades, thus saving thousands of lives.

It was humiliating to the sponsors and officers of Harvard College, who aspired to civilize and educate the Indian, to graduate but one son of the forest, though a number competed for the honor. Fortunately, the records of Harvard College give us the name of this Indian, Caleb Cheeshahteumuck, of the class of 1665. The record also states that three other Indians, Joel Jacobs, in the same class, Eleazar, of the class of 1679, and Benjamin Larnel,

of the class of 1716, studied at Harvard but did not graduate. Larnel, the last named, died while an undergraduate.

Evidently Greek roots and Latin grammars were well outside the Indian's province, and brothers Eliot, Danforth,



STATUE OF JOHN HARVARD AT HARVARD COLLEGE.

Williams, Mayhew and Sargent, accomplished greater results than the Harvard faculty.

The first brick building at Harvard was erected for Indian pupils, but when useless for its original purpose, it was made into a printing establishment, and here Eliot's Bible was put into form. The fonts of type and presses of this printery came from Holland. The Puritan was reminded and admonished by the Mother Country of his bounden duty to the Indian and himself, in the following words:

"Be not unmindful of the main end of our Plantation, by endeavoring to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the Gospel," and to keep a watchful eye over our own people so that they may be just and courteous to the Indians, winning their love and respect and getting some of their children to be trained in learning and religion.

In a word, the admonition of the Puritan in the Motherland to his New England brother was to recognize and live up to the tenets of the charter.

When King Philip clasped the button of John Eliot's coat, and said, "I care no more for the Englishman's God than I do for that button," he voiced the underlying sentiment of a large proportion of the fighting savages of New England. Humiliating to relate, it was among the weakling tribes, like the Massachusetts and Dartmouths, that Eliot made many of his converts. The assertive, fighting Indians thought Christianity but a cunning device and a carnal devil of the paleface to undermine, hoodwink, and supplant them. We all know that there was a sufficient number of bad colonists in New England to confirm the savage in his first impression. Even in the twentieth century there is no obstacle confronting Christian missionaries like that which shows itself in the lives of the sensual, undevout, and brutal specimens of humanity, chiefly in the seaports, hailing from Christian countries. Converts from paganism discern this all too soon.

King Philip's father, Massasoit, eschewing the wigwam, lived as did the Pilgrim in a house of wood. His sense of right and wrong was well developed, but he drew the line at conversion. He rejected wholly the white man's theory of religion when persistent attempts were made to wean him from the God of his Fathers. To regenerate a savage meant a real revolution in society. It required a new basis and framework of life, and for this the Indian was not ready. The Jesuit missionary, through formalism and symbols—the essence of the Roman form of Christianity



KING PHILIP—THE LAST OF THE WAMPANOAG—SIGNING THE TREATY OF 1671 WITH THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY IN THE GREAT HALL OF BOSTON.

being obedience and conformity to externals and church rules—made comparatively easy conquests.

Through formalism, he was able to convert the Indian numerously and rapidly, but he absolved lapses from the narrow path, however fiendish, when directed against heretics.

In no clearer way is the spirit of the superior Indian recognized than when in Taunton church a leading chief, disgusted with Philip's cowardice and treachery in signing a treaty he did not mean to keep, threw down his arms and became for all time an ally of the whites. The town of Taunton escaped massacre during King Philip's War, because a family named Leonard had shown a kindness to Philip. This was sure proof that even a bloodthirsty chief was not entirely bad and could return kindness with kindness.

If white men who write of the Indian would dwell more upon these evidences of his chivalry and ethical nobility, illustrating which are hundreds of incidents on record, we should be nearer the truth in our estimate of him. It required Boston pressure and the intercession of the exiled heretic, Roger Williams, to force Philip to the Taunton church conference with the Pilgrim governor. This resulted in that important war treaty which delayed the inevitable Indian conflict for over four years. In our more recent literature of romance, we have suffered reaction from James Fenimore Cooper's "noble savage," though both government and missionary reports reveal a very improvable race, that daily gives proof of inherent abilities and strong character.

It took years for the smoldering flame of Indian hatred to flare forth from its hiding-place. When, however, it came to a head on June 21, 1675—a round century before the Revolutionary War—it proved an unparalleled conflagration. During those previous trying years the whites stood over a rumbling volcano, which at any moment might yawn to abysses. The proud Indian king was more than once summoned before the Plymouth tribunal to be

cross-examined as to his possibly hostile intent. In thus endeavoring to control King Philip the Pilgrims unhesitatingly shouldered the responsibility, however onerous. They risked life, property, and possible reputation in order to stand guard vigilantly over all New England. Philip thus made disdainful answer to his Pilgrim accusers:

"Your governor is but a subject of King Charles of England. I shall not treat with a subject. I shall treat peace only with the king, my brother. When he comes, I am ready."

Thus ran the fire in the fuse whose lighting was to cause explosion in due time. The Christian Indian, John Sassamon, King Philip's semi-secretary, for a short time a student at Harvard College, divulged to the Reverend John Eliot and to Governor Josiah Winslow of Plymouth the plot to massacre the whites. Within a week Sassamon's body was found in a Middlesex pond under the ice, his cap and gun on its surface guiding the searchers. Our cocksure friend, Cotton Mather, said his neck was broken. Hurriedly buried, Governor Winslow, remembering Sassamon's dread of being murdered, caused the body to be exhumed. The examination proved indisputably that Sassamon had been murdered. Three Indians were arrested on very slight evidence and hanged for the deed. This execution brought to a head the bad blood already existing between paleface and redskin. In reprisal Indians killed a Swansea colonist's oxen, whereupon the farmer shot and wounded a skulking savage, discharging the first hostile gun.

It was for just this provocation and pretext that, in a generally diplomatic way, the Indian had been waiting, believing it presaged defeat to the side of the firer. Yet from another point of view, the incident was a most fortunate one for the whites. War was thus started before King Philip and his allies were in thorough readiness to spring their ten-year preparations for a conflict for life against life and for land possession.

The short, sharp, and bloody Pequot War was actually over before the Pilgrims as a people could take their full share in it.

On June 21, 1675, King Philip's War took up the thread of the abruptly discontinued story and trailed through Pilgrim and Puritan land its horrid length of torture and massacre. In this latter war came the Pilgrims' eagerly seized opportunity to prove their mettle and their loyalty. For over two years from the time of the war's starting at Swansea, timid womanhood watched thicket and woodland with fearsome glance for the dreaded redskin's attack.

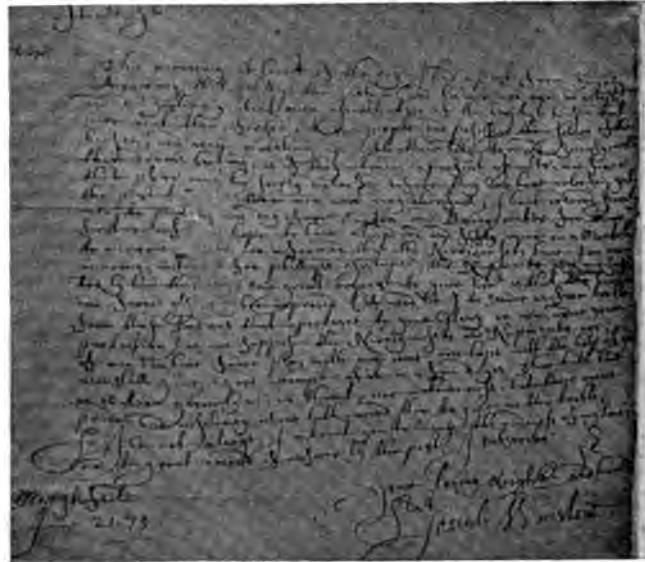
It was on a fast day when the villagers were in church that Indians made the initial attack. "The Lord protect," cried the Pilgrim maiden, as she spied the hostile Indians crouched in the thicket. At the first alarm, twenty horsemen from Bridgewater rushed to the aid of the sorely pressed Swanseaites, who were huddled into three houses, awaiting the arrival of reinforcements. In the meantime, a half dozen colonists who had gone to save newly mown grass were tomahawked.



THE TWO WAR GOVERNORS OF 1676.

Keen was the joy of the rescued as their musket-armed neighbors galloped through the main street of the hamlet.

Restraint was now cast to the winds, and on June 21, 1675, Governor Josiah Winslow's courier from Plymouth,



Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Co.

Jos: Winslow

JOSIAH WINSLOW'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR LEVERETT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY.

dashed down High (now Washington) Street, Boston, drawing rein at Governor Leverett's horse-block at the head of State (then King) Street, where now stands the Rogers Building. He handed Governor Leverett a hastily written letter, pithily stating that King Philip's War had begun.

"Honrd Sr.

This morning at break of the day I had a post from Swansy informing that phillip the Sachem and his men are now in action and did yesterday about noon assault two of the English housen that were next them, forced out our people and possessed them selves of the housen, and were marching up with

their body toward Swansy, with their drums beating, as if they intended a present assaulte, wee feare that place may bee soerly distressed before they can have reliefe; yet the post tells mee these men were very cherfull; I have ordered seventy men to march this day from Tanton and Bridgewater for their first relief, and hope to have a hundred and Fifty more on a Martch to morrow: We are informed that the Narrigansets have 400 men in arms, intended for phillips asistance, the Nepmucks also are exsp(ec)ted too by him this day: our great request to your honr is that your Comand and Force also may bee improved (if need bee) to sequer us from troble from those Indians that apertayne to your Colony or are under your protection as wee Suppose the Narrigansets and Nepmucks are; if wee Can have faire play with our owne wee hope with the help of god wee shall give a good accompt of it in a few deyes; there hath bine no ocation given by us, no threat, nor unkindness, but their owne pride and insolency alone hath moved them to give us this troble;

Sr I Cannot enlarge; I intreat you to Excuse the rudeness of my lines and to grant a word of answer by the post. I subscribe, Sr

your loving Neighbr and humble

Srvt Josiah Winslow"

Marshfield June 21, 75.

Josiah Winslow, first native-born governor and Major General of the Plymouth Bay and United Colonies, was elected in 1673 and re-elected until his death in 1681. He ably commanded the New England troops in King Philip's war, including one thousand men, in the fight at the Narragansett Fort.

One of the few portraits of New England women which date back to 1670 is that of Penelope, wife of Josiah Winslow.

Colonel Benjamin Church proved a worthy wearer of the dropped mantle of Myles Standish. Even when an old man he headed a force of five hundred and fifty men and gave the French border a severe drubbing.

Church was born in Plymouth, and died January 7, 1704, at the age of seventy-seven, soon after a fall from his horse. Almost to the day of his death, he fought Indians unremittingly. No man who ever sighted a firelock did so

more fearlessly or effectively than Colonel Church of Plymouth and Duxbury.

Among the astonishing phases of King Philip's war was the daring of handfuls of whites in isolated bands, who



© Charles Scribner's Sons.

A MIDNIGHT START TO ATTACK THE INDIANS.

often vanquished superior Indian forces. There were necessarily many bloody ambushes. In reprisal the Province of Massachusetts, when faced for years with savage butchery, through marauding Indians, offered on May 27, 1696, fifty dollars in cash for male Indian heads and twenty-five dollars for those of women and children. Within a year after the posting of this reward, occurred the Haverhill massacre and Mrs. Hannah Dustin's heroic tomahawking and scalping of ten Indians. That may have been an additional reason why Hannah Dustin risked her life by returning to tear off ten Indian scalps. Five hundred dollars was a tidy sum to acquire in a few minutes' work, blood-curdling though it was.

As a unit, to "win the war," the little Pilgrim garrison often started in the dead of night to aid sorely pressed neighbors and drive from cover many times their number of Indians in ambush. In surety of trust that the Lord of Hosts was captain not only of spiritual, but of physical battalions, they marched fearlessly through a trackless, hostile country. Plymouth settlement was meanwhile badly handicapped for lack of fighting men.

King Philip scouts were now on the warpath against the paleface, seeking victims for his tribe to pillage and scalp. The cry "Indians are coming," in our great-grand-sire's days, resounded from ocean to hill and hill to ocean. The war-flame cast its baneful glare from Plymouth bordering the sea to Northfield in the Berkshire Hills and on the farms edging the Long river. The lowing of cattle, the screeching of poultry and swine, the tow-tipped-flame-arrow sunk deeply in the thatched roof, and the sequel, a flaring blaze, meant "Indians are *here*." The last bullet must leave the mould, the last grain of powder flow from the horn, the last shot speed from matchlock and the final thrust and blow be given by the knife and down-crashing axe to save from slow-fire torture, or what was worse than death, those whom the red savages expected to be living victims in their power. Often even then the blackened record of those awful years spelled futility. Such was the task that fell to the lot of Pilgrim and Puritan colonists. These Indian-fighting days lasted on and off for nearly one hundred years, and extended along the border, and inland west of the sea.

So reasoned and acted the isolated pioneer, who had seldom been the aggressor in fanning into flame a smoldering race hatred and vengeance fire which Pilgrim and Puritan missionaries of Roxbury, Rhode Island, and Martha's Vineyard had hoped and believed was almost quenched because of fair treatment of the red men. Clergy and people were deeply stirred over these Indian outrages. The Reverend

KING PHILIP'S REBELLION

Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, and Thomas Dudley of the Bay Colony in the massacre at Deerfield, as follows :

"may be put into ye way to hunt ye Indians as is done in Virginia. If ye Indians were



Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Co.

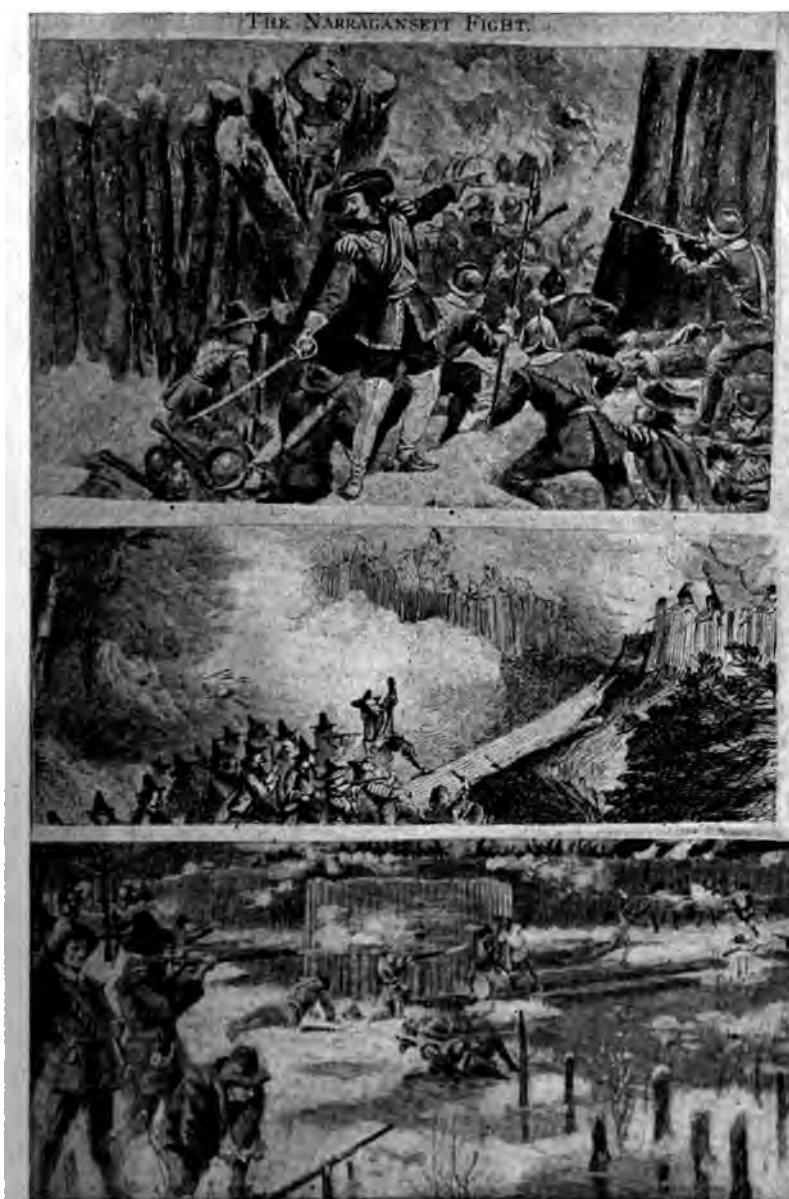
OFF FOR WEYMOUTH TO FIGHT WITH THE

manage their war fairly after ye manner of other nations, it might be looked upon as inhumane to pursue them in such a manner. But they are to be looked upon as thieves and murderers; they doe acts of hostility without proclaiming war; they don't appear openly in ye field to bid us battle; but use those cruelly that fall into their hands; they act like wolves and are to be dealt withall as wolves."

King Philip's War brought to the front some picturesque characters, and none more so than Captain Samuel Moseley, who hung his wig on a "hickory tree," then as a scalpless warrior, he fearlessly fought the Indians, much to their confusion and dismay. Moseley adopted privateering methods on land, and made a deal with the colonists to take for payment plunder and captives, thereby lining his own coffers and those of his descendants. These in the main reaped the benefit of his forethought, for the Captain was killed early in his career of "a soldier of the legion" among colonial defenders. It was Moseley who daily sent a trained pack of hounds belonging to sub-privateers



THE OFT-PRESENTED QUERY, "SHALL I KILL, ADOPT, OR ENSLAVE?"



Courtesy of Jones Bros. Pub. Co.

WIPING OUT THE NARRAGANSETTS AS A NATION.

into the Indian camps and these often brought back little pigs for human food.

The capture of Mary Rowlandson, wife of the little hamlet's pastor, the Reverend Joseph Rowlandson, occurred in the attack on Medfield, February 10, 1675. Her heart-rending experience with the Indians inflamed the colonists to greater activity against the red man and his diabolical deeds.

The history of Mrs. Rowlandson's life among the Indians thrills and horrifies the reader. Large is the library which tells of captive white women among savages from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. The history of these United States is that of the ever westward movement of a frontier, in which the conditions prevalent along the Atlantic coast were repeatedly reproduced during an era of three centuries.

The same adamant nerve that afterward captured Anawan caused Captain Church to face death on that narrow spit at Tiverton, where he quenched his thirst and regained his carelessly left weapons, twice making a foolhardy trip to the spring through a rain of bullets rather than give the Indians an opportunity to brag that they had captured the White Chief's side-arms. Church ordered back with fist-clenched gesture his cowardly countrymen at Tiverton, who refused to land and rescue their comrades.

The thicket swarmed with savages who shot from ambush at the little band under Captain Church, marooned at Tiverton Point. The superior marksmanship of the whites made a dozen or more Indians bite the dust, while not a single man of the colonists, though exposed to a prolonged fire of the savages, was killed.

Near Deerfield occurred the Bloody Brook Massacre. Under Captain Lathrop, ninety picked soldiers, mustered in under the name of the Flower-of-Essex, had gone to the protection of the settlers. These had tried to save their hastily abandoned and unthrashed grain, but



**CHURCH'S CHIM-
NEY AND SWORD.**

MAROONED ON A NARROW POINT OF LAND
HEMMED IN BY A FAR SUPERIOR FORCE OF WAR-
WHOOPING SAVAGES, WITH COWARDLY COUN-
TRYMEN FEARING TO LAND AND RESCUE, LITTLE
WONDER THAT CHURCH REVILED IN MEPHISTIC
LANGUAGE. THE SLOOP IN THE OFFING, MANNED
BY HEARTS OF STEEL, ACCOMPLISHED WHERE
COWARDS FAILED.

BENJAMIN CHURCH'S HEROIC CONFLICT AT TIVERTON POINT.

were ambushed when they reached the brook, by seven hundred Nipmucks. To retreat from an Indian was not in the colonists' code of conduct, so the fight began and the purling brook ran red. Only eight of the entire company escaped death.



BENJAMIN CHURCH.

Then followed the destruction and desecration of both Northfield and Brookfield. Not very different were the actions of red and white men in these colonial days, in the heat of revenge. In tigers and in human beings the same passions prevail.

Robert Treat, the colonial major, rushed to the scene, but reached it too late to do aught but bury in one grave the scalped and mutilated bodies of his neighbors.* Quite probably the Major

exploded with anathemas against the Indian, as with tearful indignation the victims of the Bloody Brook tragedy, numbering nearly one hundred, were placed in hallowed ground.

The details of this tragedy, spreading from cabin to cabin and town to town, caused outraged manhood to combine to measure out dire vengeance. The Pilgrim and Puritan, when they faced warring Indians, "threw away life like a flower and all they held most dear."

Education, religious and secular, of the masses was the mainspring of this first settlement in the New World. Toddling childhood, stalwart manhood, and halting age carried the Book of Books close to the heart.

Let the destructive critic strip it of in-

*The bones of the author's uncle merged with those of his comrades in Mother Earth in this honor-grave trench at Bloody Brook.



MONUMENT AT
BLOODY BROOK.

spiration, if this be possible, there yet remains within its covers the foundation of all psychological, historical, poetic, ethical, and spiritual literature. This anvil will wear out all hammers that smite it.

The Indians met another of their masters in Will Turner, who led the force that slew three hundred Nipmucks at Turner's Falls. In the act he sacrificed his life. The Congregational brother was glad to have even the reviled Baptist Turner stand between him and the scalp-stripping Indian foe.

Simon Willard, already seventy years old, rushed to the aid of beleaguered people of Brookfield who were huddled in a cabin, against which Indians had pushed a flaming straw-laden wagon. The Lord sent a welcome downpour of rain that scattered and quenched the flames, even as his servant, Simon Willard, scattered and squelched the Indians.

Deerfield was situated in a rich and fertile vale. Thrift



dwelt in the farm houses which were sparsely scattered over its eight thousand acres, when the war-whoop of the Indian, backed by the French, echoed through its glades, and the Indian tomahawk and torch wrought death and desolation.



FLEEING FROM INDIANS.
III—12

"A yell the dead might wake to hear,
Swelled on the night air, far and clear—
Then smote the Indian tomahawk,
On crashing door and shattering lock."

"Quiet and calm, without a fear
Of danger darkly lurking near,
The weary laborer left his plough—
The milkmaid carolled by her cow—
Then burst the war tornado."



THE BLOCK HOUSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

The savage attack on the peaceful little village planted in New England made another milestone of progress, though blotched with blood.

A fine example of the overhang that protected from Indian attack and inclement weather is seen at

York (Agamenticus), Maine, once the scene of fearful massacre. All through the colonies, this overhang above the first story was common on the blockhouses, by which the marksmen could prevent the savage from coming too near, or from which hot or cold water could be thrown or poured on the burning material pushed or shot forward. This feature was borrowed from feudal Europe, where examples of architecture for the same purpose may still be seen. Colonists farther defended their loved ones by building the stockaded home.

At the heels of the depopulation and obliteration by fire, tomahawk, and musket ball of Deerfield and adjacent towns, came the inevitable retribution. As fearful a lesson in blood as was given the Pequots in



BIBLE LED MATURITY AND CHILDHOOD.

that first brief Indian war in 1637, was apportioned in 1676 to the Narragansetts, the tribe that had once been so completely won over by Roger Williams to the colonists' cause. But "another king arose which knew not Joseph." The generation of Indians among which Williams had lived had in large measure been gathered to its fathers, for the Indian was a short-lived product. New wrongs and new ways of looking at these wrongs seared the soul of the savage, and, as the war fire raged, it consumed promise, obligation, and treaty.

When King Philip's war broke out, one hundred and five thousand New Englanders were in jeopardy. Along a frontier of two hundred miles, thousands of Indians were ready for what they believed would be a war of extermination. The burning words of King Philip to sachem, chief, medicine man, and brave, had reared, as it were, a wall of flame. The feelings of the exultant savages are for us perhaps best expressed in the well-known lines, "The Seminole Defiance," by C. W. Patton, though written of the Southern Indians years afterward. His verse reproduces for us King Philip's stirring appeals, which roused the red man to a revengeful mood, akin to that of demons.

"Blaze with your serried columns; I will not bend the knee.

* * * * *

I've scorned you in the city; I've scalped you on the plain;
Go count your chosen where they fell, beneath my leaden rain.
I scorn your proffered treaty; the paleface I defy,
Revenge is stamped upon my spear, and blood's my battle cry.
Some strike for hope of booty; some to defend their all;
I battle for the joy it gives to see the white man fall.
I love among the wounded to hear his dying moan,
And catch, while chanting at his side, the music of his groan."

No wonder the Seminole declared "I ne'er will be your slave," for he had heard among other campfire tales how Wootonekamuski, King Philip's wife, his children, and scores of his followers had been years before sold into

slavery. Moreover, for a century previous he had known the white man from the ships as a slave catcher, for the slave trade was then carried on even by government, as well as by thousands in private speculation.

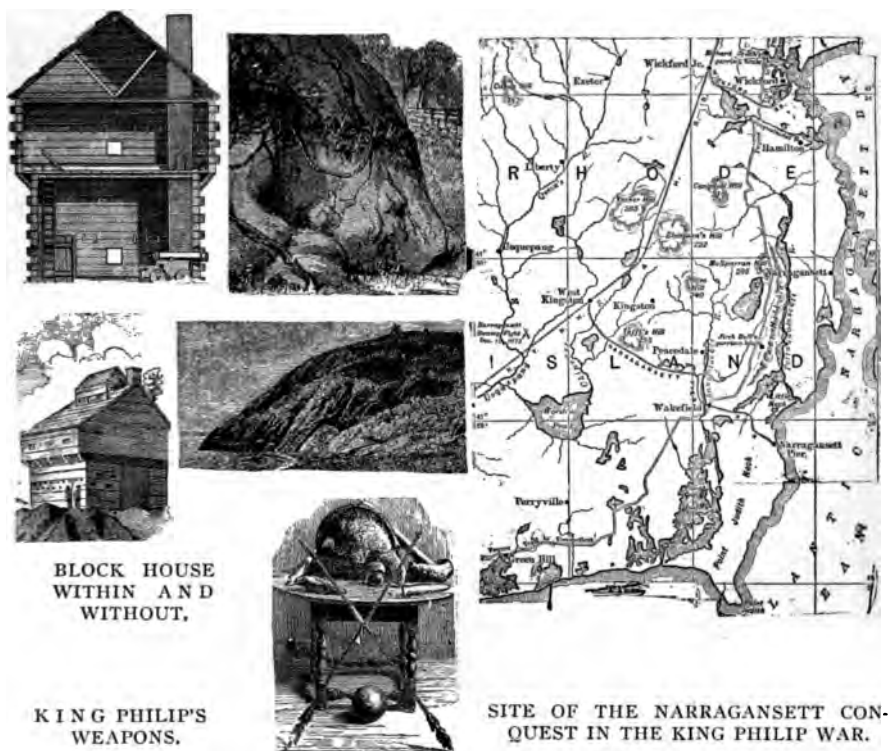
The terrific half-hour lesson at Mystic in the Pequot War was repeated forty years later in that Narragansett Swamp Fight in Washington County, Rhode Island, a short distance southwest of Kingston, on December nineteenth, 1676. * In deep snow and bitter cold occurred the terrific onslaught between Colonist and Indian forces. Beaches, cliff, forest glades, and brook crossings had felt the tread of hundreds of moccasined Indian feet until, near Kingston in this swamp fight, the Narragansetts were almost annihilated. As a nation they were no more and the land of their fathers became English land.

In a few minutes' ride beyond Kingston, Rhode Island, before the train reaches Westerly, the searcher for landmarks of the past sees some five hundred yards north of the railroad track a stone shaft. This marks the site of the death and burial of the Narragansett Nation in the Swamp Fight.

It required martyr courage to cross that tree trunk in the face of a withering fire that threatened instant immolation of the daring fighters, but fearlessly the colonists faced death again and again in that onslaught on the Narragansett Fort.

With the help of an Indian guide, an additional line of attack was made across the swamp, easier than the tree trunk route, and giving speedier entrance. The hand-to-hand contest went on for hours, ending by the whites practically wiping the Narragansett Nation off the earth. Several hundred wigwams in the enclosure, largely filled with corn, were burned with their owners, and for

* The fort was on a plot of hard ground of about five acres in the northwest part of the swamp, along the north end of which now passes the Stonington and Providence railroad, as shown on the map.



KING PHILIP'S SEAT—SITE OF THE FORT.

years thereafter the greensward, that nature lavishly fosters to obliterate wreckage, crept over and blanketed the blood-saturated, bone-strewn field. Under the spade, carbonized kernels of corn by the bushel have been brought to light. Today we see this only as one of those "battlefields, which nature long since healed and reconciled to herself with the sweet oblivion of flowers."

These two burnings of both Indians and wigwams some forty years apart saved colonists by the thousand. The Pequot burning was in June, 1637. The Narragansett fort with contents, animate and inanimate, was destroyed in the dead of winter, 1676. With the sheltering Indian wigwams gone, the victors lay all day and night exposed to a bitter cold, that closed the eyes and stopped the heart beats of many a patriot whose life might have been saved.



WILLIAM GOFFE RESCUING HADLEY.

The Indians' attack on Hadley, in which General Goffe came to the fore, stirred the country. Romance clung closely to the three regicides who fought under Cromwell and fled to Boston. When Charles II endeavored, but signally failed to ferret out all his father's slayers, two of these judges, General Wiliam Goffe, with his father-in-law, Whalley, were concealed at Hadley, Massachusetts. During King Philip's war, Goffe appearing from his enforced retirement, rallied citizens and directed an onslaught against the Indians with old-time Cromwellian vigor of the sort shown at Dunbar and Worcester. With Goffe, the decrepitude of age was smothered momentarily beneath the magnetic swirl of the battlefield. Tales of the town state that the scalp-stripping Indians were put to flight in short order. The artist so reproduces the much-discussed tradition, which investigation seems to strengthen. "An archangel sent from heaven to protect his chosen people" was the verdict of the hamlet, for none saw the coming and going

of the keen-eyed, white-haired, forceful warrior. The Reverend John Russell, in whose home both Goffe and Whalley lived for many years, closely guarded their secret, and here they died. A weird task was the grave-digging and burial by the old minister of Hadley in the dead of night beneath the cellar floor. In his home, at table with him for years, and in death, were his warrior guests. Both Goffe and Whalley served on the board that ordered the execution of Charles I. It was only through a guarded escape that they foiled the royal vengeance which fell upon their comrades, the judges who remained in England.

General William Goffe repelled the Indians at Hadley after appearing in the doorway of the meeting-house and delivering the astounding message to pastor and people that Death, in a most terrifying form, was close at hand and that every man in town was needed as an Indian fighter.

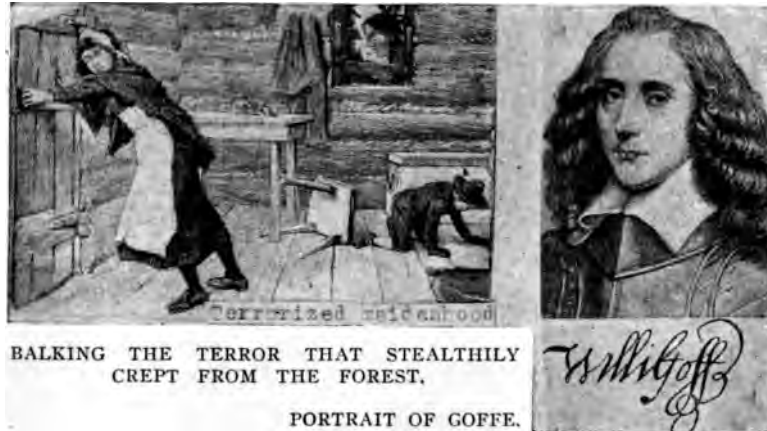
Philip made a thrilling escape by water from the Taunton Big Swamp, in which Church had him cornered during thirteen days. This was an unfortunate result, for



SIGNATURE OF THE REGICIDE
KNOWN AS JAMES DAVIDS.

CAVES OF THE REGICIDES AND THE NECK BRIDGE WHERE, UP TO
THEIR CHINS, THE REGICIDES HID.

the capture of Philip at that time would undoubtedly have ended the war. Increase Mather intimates that at Taunton Englishmen were slain by Englishmen in mistake for Indians. The Reverend Mr. Newman of Rehoboth followed Philip's



trail and headed a band composed of his parishioners and fifty Mohegans, to intercept the wily chieftain. The Mohegans, however, bent on plunder, balked the Reverend warrior's efforts, and again Philip escaped. Cutting his hair and changing costume, the chief thus disguised avoided immediate capture. Yet there could be only one result, and the drama of war ended near Mount Hope. There the forces of Captain Benjamin Church brought to bay the crafty, cruel, cowardly chieftain, who followed but never led, and was the first to flee when danger threatened.

"Through the trees fierce eyeballs glowed,
Dark forms in the moonshine showed,
Wild from their native wilderness
With painted limbs and battle dress."

Again the poet voices the Indian's war thought.

"Away! Away! I will not hear
Of aught but death or vengeance now;
By the eternal skies I swear
My knee shall never learn to bow!"



Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Co.

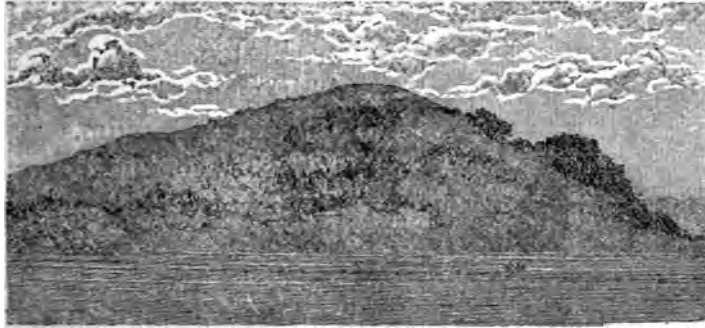
DEATH OF KING PHILIP.

"I will not hear a word of peace,
Nor clasp in friendly grasp a hand
Linked to that pale-browed stranger race,
That works the ruin of our land.

* * * * *

And till your last white foe shall kneel,
And in his coward pangs expire,
Sleep—but to dream of brand and steel;
Wake—but to deal in blood and fire!"

Church, in that battle which caused the death of King Philip, knowing well the inherent cowardice of the chief, who had the reputation of never facing the white man, and at the first sign of defeat fleeing to the rear, gave orders



MOUNT HOPE—PHILIP'S STRONGHOLD.

to shoot any Indian seen running away from the front. King Philip fell headlong in his tracks, shot dead by the Indian whose brother he had killed.

Pride, fear, revenge, peace, stirred hearts of Plymouth folks as they gazed at the gore-smeared and matted head of the cruel Indian chief, thus uplifted to foster hate. This was contrary to the Oriental code in which the face of the decapitated one was first washed in tribute to valor.

When one of his aides suggested surrender, Philip's only answer was to strike down the chief in his tracks, in revenge for which the dead man's brother, Alderman, guided Church to Philip's lair.

On August 12, 1676, one hundred and sixty feet southwest of the spring, King Philip bit the dust in dying agony, and Captain Church ordered the disposal of his remains in these words:

"Forasmuch as he had caused many an Englishman's body to be unburied and to rot above ground, not one of his bones shall be buried."

After killing King Philip, the slayer of his kin, two bullets entering heart and lung, Alderman gave the gun to his white companion, Caleb Cook, whose weapon had missed fire. The gun barrel is now in Pilgrim Hall,

Plymouth, and the lock in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Alderman proved a pioneer to the later Barnum. As perquisite he commandeered the well-known, distorted hand of his victim, which had been injured by a gun explosion. Steeped in alcohol, the ghastly relic was long shown about the country. This exhibition yielded a silver contribution that kept

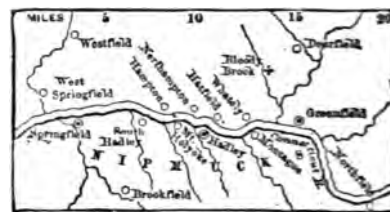
thrifty Mr. Alderman supplied with coin for many a year.

In England to rebel against the King of England and to be captured meant decapitation by the axe and a drawn and quartered body. Under such law and custom, conjointly with the Bible record of Canaanites and Philistines, Captain Church dealt with King Philip's remains. The theory of literal inspiration overrode any nascent ideas about historical evolution. Copying a Jewish custom, Captain Church cut off Philip's head and brought it triumphantly to Plymouth, where it was impaled upon a pole, while Philip's body was quartered in true English style and hung from a tree. The Dutch method was to dig up the coffin and hang it with its contents from a gibbet.

Rulers were rivals in this era in their envious emulation of seeking eminence as the insulters of dead enemies



FIRST SCENE OF KING
PHILIP'S WAR.



SECOND SCENE OF KING
PHILIP'S WAR.

in thus marching abreast with the red savage. However, they read the Old Testament without consulting the Christ. Did they not read David's death-bed request of Solomon, answering Joel, "Let not his hoary head go down to the grave in peace."

When in 1871 the Athenian, in the public square at Athens, nailed to a billboard the blood-smeared, gashed heads of a half-dozen brigands and exposed them to the gaze of men and women and children for weeks, he simply duplicated the custom of the English, exactly one hundred years before to an hour when Temple Bar was decorated with the heads of malefactors. The English simply followed the custom of centuries, along with many spectres of the brain and numerous follies our forefathers brought across the ocean. Both Pilgrim and Puritan liberty capped with an Indian head many a flagpole and corniced many a building with grinning skulls. If the carrion, poorly nailed, or tied, fell down when dry, the hungry dogs had a feast.

Thus did Increase Mather write of King Philip's taking off in answer to prayers of the Elect:

"Nor could they cease crying to the Lord until they had prayed the bullet into his heart."

Again, in regard to the Narragansetts, he says:

"We have heard of two and twenty Indian Captains slain, all of them brought down to hell in one day."

To make his subject still more lurid, Mather records in 1700, twenty-four years after the event:

"It was not long before the hand which now writes, upon a certain occasion, took off the jaw from the exposed skull of that blasphemous leviathan; and the renowned Samuel Lee hath since been a pastor to an English congregation, sounding and showing the praises of heaven upon that very spot of ground where Philip and his Indians were lately worshipping the devil."

Afterward the satirist Pope could write of this petty posthumous vengeance:

"Fame but from death a villain's name can save
As justice tears his body from the grave;
When what to oblivion better were resigned
Is hung on high to poison half mankind."



Increase Mather
INCREASE MATHER.



"EXCESS IN WICKEDNESS, BRING-
ING UNTIMELY DEATH."

No doubt, when impelled by New Testament and Christian motives, men of new mind (the Quakers, for example) attempted the reform of this posthumous vengeance and urged the abolition of head and limb exposure, they were branded as "dangerous characters," "new theology men," "higher critics," "liberals," etc. Other epithets were fastened on them by those who feared lest the foundations of society would be destroyed by any such application of Christianity to theories of punishment which led to the abolition of time-honored customs. Hardly such an idea of reform, instead of vengeance, had then dawned on England, though long before put in practice in the Dutch Republic, where

penology was becoming a science, as it happily is in America.

As an instance illustrating the widespread excitement over the Indian question, one finds the Reverend Samuel Arnold of Marshfield and the Reverend John Cotton, pastor

John Cotton.

of the First Church of Plymouth and son of John Cotton, formerly rector of St. Botolph of Olde Boston, later pastor of the First Church of New Boston, joining forces and advocating this heartless death condemnation of innocent Indian children:

"The children of notorious traitors, rebels and murderers, and such as have been the principal leaders and actors in such horrid villanies, and that against a whole nation, may *salva republica*, be adjudged to death."

evidently arguing that a viper's nest could only nurture vipers.

Pastor and clerk, young and old, in a united supplication to The Throne thanked God for the death of King Philip, New England's menace.

That escape of Chief Canonchet at South Kingston, to head a scattered remnant of his tribe, prolonged the fighting, but he was finally brought to bay, captured, and turned over to the Mohegans, important allies of the English.

The records of Indian fighting, from the "First Encounter" to the death of Custer, contain no more daringly courageous act than that of Benjamin Church's capture of Anawan. The action of Church in pressing forward seemed almost foolhardy. Unwilling to wait for reinforcements which were already on the way, he parted temporarily from his comrade, Lieutenant Jabez Howland. Accompanied by six Indians and an Englishman named Cook, with the connivance of an Indian girl and an old man whom he had overtaken, Church followed the trail of the savages through the forest until he reached Squannaconk swamp in

the eastern part of Rehoboth, near old Taunton. There at night he captured a force of savage warriors ten times the number of his own men. Amazed by Church's valor and ability, Anawan in turn astounded the Captain (soon to be made colonel) by suddenly dashing into the thicket, seemingly bent on escape, but immediately returning with King Philip's robes and insignia of authority. These he laid humbly and admiringly at the feet of his captor, thus giving a silent yet speaking testimonial to the prowess of the Big White Chief.

With the capture of Anawan King Philip's war received a body blow; but it was not the Indian habit to quit his murderous raids on isolated villages and settlements. The interval from the death of King Philip to the last scalping of a white man, woman or child, in this war, covered nearly two years.

The sending of Anawan's son into slavery was vigorously and indignantly condemned by the brave captain. It was too much like the fashion of the Spaniards and a reversion towards barbarism. Doubtless King Philip's cruel torturing of the colonists at Swansea and Rehoboth, was cited as justifiable provocation, and was the main factor in the death sentence passed upon Anawan.

History knows no blacker stain against the Pilgrims than their treatment of those one hundred and fifty or sixty Dartmouth Indians living in the town of Dartmouth, who were argued with by Captain Benjamin Church, Ralph Earl, and Captain Eel to "come over on our side." When they cheerfully did this and surrendered their weapons, they were just as cheerfully sold into slavery by the astute Pilgrim authorities.

Moreover, it was the ruling idea of the age, whether in Virginia or in Europe, as held by statesmen and theologians, that the right of a Christian to sell a savage into slavery was one God-given, to the white man only—the same notion that before 1865 dominated the American filibusters, who made

KING PHILIP'S WAR

lescents on Cuba and Mexico, with the purpose of the "divine institution" of negro slavery.

In the Plymouth mind at that time, that generation, an Indian was ever an Indian, a heathen. Plymouth ignored Church's promises, but the conscientious, renowned Indian fighter, who amid a host of captures, including famous Nimrod, made a street full of enemies by his belligerent attitude, cared little. Church's opinions were shown by his fiery words on every possible occasion, in answer to the verbal taunts of his neighbors. The number of towns that went down in ashes, before the Indian torch during 1676-77-78, makes a long list. Plymouth,

where Indians had been treated with a brotherly love, was badly singed. The fort were burned, and in the main depopulated: Taunton, Marlboro, Medfield, Sudbury, Grafton, Hatfield, Hadley, Northfield, Weymouth, Cohasset, Scituate, and Bridgewater. Even the town of Springfield felt the stealthy moccasin Indian despoiler, and houses and occupants were put to the torch.

Offsetting this trail of blood, one finds that non-warring members in the cape towns of Weymouth, Chatham, Yarmouth, Barnstable, Wareham, Middleborough, and Marshfield were to a large degree fostered by Richard Child.

In the totals, King Philip's war cost over



© Charles Scribner
MANNER OF ENGLISH AT PLYMOUTH
THE

the colonists' picked fighting men, out of a population of twenty-five thousand; five military captains—Hutchinson, Johnson, Davenport, Moseley, and Turner—and hundreds of innocent women and children. A century later the grand-

*Phillip alias Mota come
his P mark*

KING PHILIP'S PENNY TRUMPET SHAPED AUTO-
GRAPH.

sons of those who were ambushed at Bloody Brook, or lined up with Will

Turner at Great Falls on the Con-

necticut or in the Falls Fight, or the rescued Brookfield people under old man Simon Willard, were seen nobly following ancestral examples of courage. They stood their ground in 1775, as minute-men on Lexington common. Behind the redoubt, built overnight on Farmer Breed's scantily-treed, hilly cow pasture, they hurled back the regiments of King George three times, until their ammunition was exhausted. Thus the Pilgrim and Puritan carried forward unflinchingly to a victorious end the banner of freedom.

Among leading Puritans who fought side by side in King Philip's war, all patriots of the highest type, men of rank, and strenuous warriors, was Governor John Leverett, as well as that renowned fighter, Captain Thomas Savage, who, with sixty or seventy adherents of Ann Hutchinson, had been humiliatingly and ruthlessly disarmed. Savage, with equal humiliation on the part of the colonists, was re-armed to face the Indians. Right boldly, loyally, and effectively did Captain Thomas Savage respond to duty. In one skirmish he killed fifteen redskins. His fighting days over, the doughty old citizen-warrior found his last resting-place on the bosom of Mother Earth in Kings Chapel burying-ground, Boston, Massachusetts. (A burying-ground was named by the early Christians a sleeping chamber or cemetery, and by our Saxon ancestors "God's acre.")

It was a strange custom, an impolitic policy, when the Indian at times ruthlessly killed his greatest warriors,

even big chiefs who wielded enormous influence among the tribes. Such acts were due largely to tribal jealousy. Five of the greatest Indian warriors who ever wore a chief's insignia, and if given free rein by their fellows, would have swept the white man into the sea, were tomahawked or shot to death by men of their own race. Sassacus, surrendered by the whites to the Mohawks, was struck to earth; Miantonomo was tomahawked by Uncas, the Mohegan chief; his son, Chief Canonchet, called by some historians "the ideal Indian hero," met the fate of his father, being killed by his next door neighbors, the Mohegans, his head being placed on a pole in Hartford. King Philip was shot by Alderman. Dueling, giving an even chance for life, was not in the Indian's decalogue; assassination was his favorite method of removing rivals or enemies. Cowardly, crafty acts in the eye of the Indian showed superior ability to circumvent his enemies, at least, so the white man said and thought. A stab in the back apparently seemed to him the correct method of procedure.

The murder of Pontiac furnishes a clear example of the red man's method of skulking upon and tomahawking his prey. It must ever be remembered that the habits of centuries are not, with either white or red man, altered in a day. As we have seen, Indian methods of warfare were fixed in the stone age, when he had no long-range missiles beyond that of arrows, possessed neither artillery nor bombs, and knew not what pistols were. While Englishmen criticize the stab-in-the-back habit of the Indian, they need go back but a few centuries to find the origin of the handclasp and the doffed hat—the former, or open hand showing it contained no weapon; the latter, or unhelmeted head, proving trust.

Today, at certain banquets in England, notably that of the Lord Mayor of London, when a guest raises a beaker to his lips, the man on the left stands behind him, this custom in turn going around the table, a relic of days when no man knew but with his face half buried in a beaker, an enemy

though seated at a hospitable board might stab him in the back.

A knowledge of Indian ethics, ideas, codes, and sociology is apt to modify or revolutionize the hereditary opinions of the whiteskin. One has only to search beneath the surface of inherited opinions to see that the development of human society, human beings of the same blood, passes slowly through the same evolution. The science of anthropology confirms the Biblical conception formulated by Paul, of "one blood in all nations."

In King Philip's War, the Colony of New Plymouth was especially active with men and money. Aside from financing Church's force of picked Indian fighters, and a portion of the army commanded by General Josiah Winslow, the leading soldier-citizen of Plymouth, Pilgrims went down in their pockets until the war debt of the town exceeded in amount the entire personal property value of its citizens.

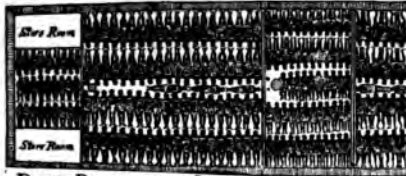
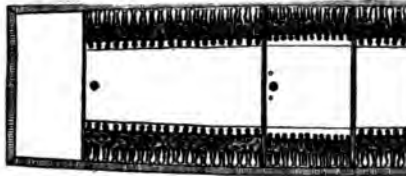
In this struggle for self-preservation New Netherland was never asked for a shilling. Of the ninety towns in the Federation, at least thirty were attacked by Indians, and thirteen entirely destroyed. Anxious to rid the country of the Indian menace, many thousands of savages were held in bondage, or transported as slaves. Considering the horrors perpetrated by the savage, it seemed to the Pilgrim and Puritan mind a righteous solution of a most perplexing question.

Possibly the trapper of black men fortified his selfishness, his covetous instincts, and his brutality with Boswell's argument to the Abolitionist Johnson that, to banish slavery and the opportunity it gave to Christianize the "sooty stranger" within our borders "would shut the gates of mercy on mankind."

When Abraham Lincoln said that no country could exist half free and half slave, he hit the Englishman, Frenchman, Dutchman and Spaniard of 1619 and 1620 as well as all Americans of like mind a body blow. It took two and one-



TO BE SOLD AS SLAVES.



DECK PLANS OF A SLAVER.

THREE HUNDRED TON SHIP WITH
PACKED IN ITS

half centuries to get it into the mind of the masses that "slavery is the sum of a

These deck plans of a Slave ship, of sardines was duplicated in the the low-studded hold of a three-hundred human beings, touching to lie or stand. Little wonder the mortality were rampant. Will the man torn asunder, enter the maw of the vessels, the ravenous shark, as they



THE SLAVE SHIP.

THE SLAVER JETTISONING THE BLACK MAN.

some terrific gale, to lighten ship and prevent foundering?

Yet until 1840, when, under the Webster-Ashburton treaty, the United States joined Great Britain in suppressing the African slave trade, New Englanders and Southerners were in the same business of enslaving their fellow men. The century-long triangle of New England's most profitable trade was in carrying fish to the West Indies, in exchange for molasses, of which to make rum; then the rum was sent to Africa for slaves, to be brought to the West Indies—fish, rum, slaves.

The Mayflower of 1620, through that apparent law of coincidence, was among the first of English ships to be used in this business—which fact carries no discredit to the beginners of New England.

“Aloft all hands! Strike the topmasts and belay;
Yon angry setting sun and fierce-edged clouds
Declare the typhoon's coming;
Before it sweeps your decks throw overboard
The dead and dying; ne'er heed their chains;
Hope! Hope! fallacious hope!
Where is thy market now?”

Many old churches below Mason and Dixon's line and some edifices in the North—notably, the Henry Street Episcopal church in New York City—have still the negro loft, into which the blacks were locked during service.

In 1619, as in 1620, the year Pilgrims sailed from Plymouth in the Mayflower, stolen African negroes trudged through morass and thicket as shackled slaves, their destination being free America.

Even the kindly hearted Pilgrim was tainted with the pitch and slime of slavery, for in this respect he was a man of his age, though in lesser degree blameable than some other colonists. Humiliating to relate, as the human flesh traffic grew, many a Yankee shipowner, who sat in a front pew, worshipping the God of his Fathers and passing the communion cup and contribution box on Sunday, prostrated himself before the slave-god, Mammon, during the remainder of the week.

These first negro slaves, numbering twenty, were brought to Virginia by a war vessel that happened to be a Dutch one, though at the same time scores of other public and private ships, flying the flags of several nations, were in the same business; for control of the slave trade was then the trump card in diplomacy, the West Indies being the best market. Through stress of weather and lack of provisions, the Dutch ship sought Jamestown harbor in August 1619. The Dutchmen, according to tradition, were about to throw the negroes overboard, because of food shortage. In pity, the Virginians bought them, and negro slavery was first started in America. No protest was raised against the "institution," until the Dutch Mennonites, in their meeting-house, still standing in Germantown near Philadelphia, recorded their voice and vote almost as soon as Pennsylvania was settled. Nor was white and red slavery unknown in the colonies. Captives in war, as in the case of the Dartmouth Indians and of the Delaware Dutch Mennonites in Plockhoy's settlement in 1664 were sold as slaves to Virginia and the West Indies.

Seven conscientious workers for the welfare of mankind hastened freedom for the negro of the south by a full century.

In no greater forensic debates did John Quincy Adams gain more conclusively the soubriquet of "Old Man Eloquent" than in his eight-year fight against slavery, the animus of which was exemplified in the gag law, which prevented all discussion of the theme. When he won his resolution which resulted in the prevention of slavery in the District of Columbia, it was carried by a vote of one hundred and eight to eighty. This was the first heavy legal blow struck against slavery. Within the hall where he did his best fighting, he met the Grim Destroyer, dying in his seat at the capitol at the age of eighty-one.

Cotton Mather entered in his diary in 1706:

"Received a singular blessing in the gift of a likely slave, which was a mighty smile of heaven on my family."

Had Mather lived until 1783, Heaven would have ceased to smile upon the clerical slave-owner, for in that year the General Court of Massachusetts abolished slavery.

A matter-of-fact advertisement duplicated in most colonial newspapers of the time, treating of the slave situation even a full century and more after the landing of the Pilgrims was shown when, in 1742, the *Boston Evening Post* printed this advertisement:

"To be sold by the printer of this paper, the very best Negro Woman in this Town, who has had the Small-Pox and measles; is as hearty as a Horse, as brisk as a Bird, and will work like a Beaver. Aug. 23d, 1742."

Newport, in Rhode Island, was one of several New England towns that waxed fat in the trade of fish, rum, and slaves. Dame Rumor states that but one cargo of slaves ever arrived in Boston Harbor, and that was returned at the ex-

pense of the colony, but at Newport many hundreds of black humanity were landed.

In 1696, Le Barran, a Roman Catholic, in a double sense called "The Nameless Nobleman," shipwrecked in Buzzard's Bay, was seized as a menace to the religious weal of the community, and carried to Boston a prisoner. Plymouth was now without an experienced physician—good Doctor Fuller having long since passed on—so the magistrates petitioned the iron-willed bachelor, Lieutenant-Governor William Stoughton, to free Le Barran, if he would come to Plymouth. Under pressure, the Governor acceded, but with racked conscience, to which, in time, must have come peace, for the French disciple of Esculapius did glorious work amid the sick and dying. Le Barran was permitted to practice medicine in Plymouth only, providing the mass, which he insisted on observing, was said in the sanctity of his chamber. Such a rule was enforced in Plymouth out of courtesy to that fiat put forth that neither priest nor Jesuit was to be allowed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, under penalty of death. It is said Le Barran never slept without a cross upon his breast. The Pilgrims, with their usual tolerance, were rather, in a measure, indifferent to the soul-vagaries of the good man who tenderly cared for their bodily welfare. Le Barran married Mary Wilder of Plymouth, and this couple were progenitors of most of that name in America.

"Physician heal thyself" is a proverb older than the book in which it occurs. Medical knowledge or skill alone does not prolong life. Le Barran speedily galloped into the bourne in August, 1704, in his thirty-sixth year.

As late as the Revolutionary War one finds from the writings of Blanchard that more attention was paid to comfort and hygiene than among the early settlers. Medical science was not then far advanced, though nostrums, probably killing more victims than were cured, helped to shorten life.

and bleeding, with intent to heal or filled the coffin.

Blanchard wrote:

"The women are tall, well formed, with complexion is generally only pale, without any



THE CUBAN BLOODHOUND THAT TRAIL

tions and less ease of manner than our French. . . . At twenty years of age the women of youth, at thirty-five or forty they are wrinkled. I found that the great part of those who had reached that age. There were only a very few of sixty, almost none of seventy. I saw one older."

Death to the advanced philosophy of the 18th century means freedom from warring factions and Puritan, in spite of his verbosity and his intimacy with the Deity, death was as often to paralyze his thinking power. At the burial the ceremonies were, first, a

very appropriate, when friends and relatives may have had to come from a distance, even though this custom degenerated—second, ostentatious mourning, including the wearing of black rings and gloves; later came tombstones with laudatory

epitaph; and anniversary days of fasting and prayer in remembrance of the dead. At the interment, however, there was no word of prayer and no sound save the clods falling on coffin lid and the sobbing of the mourners.

In the town of Hingham, built on broad lines, in 1681, on a commanding site stands the oldest meeting-house in Plymouth County, if not in New England, used continu-



THE ONE SQUARE PEW IN ANCIENT
HINGHAM CHURCH.

ously as a House of Worship since days when the only heating plant was the foot stove, a name and custom (word and thing) borrowed from Holland. The foot stove was usually carried to the meeting-house. The service was full three hours and a half long, including prayers, the latter gauged by a full turn of the hour glass, which shared pulpit honors with the Holy Bible.

This church at first had only a single box pew—that shown in the illustration above, the rest of the worshippers sitting on benches, which in many meeting-houses had no backs. In time the pew, symbol of the family at worship and together, instead of the general crowd, became a place of comfort and even of luxury.

As Charles Bulfinch in later times left his mark on the architecture of the State in the domed building on Beacon Hill, so Thomas Joy, that first American architect of note, designed as early as 1681 the Hingham meeting-house, also in 1656 Boston's Ancient Town House and the nearby

Aspinwall mansion. Notable was the majority of the edifices—especially prior to the Revolution. In England were of wood, those of the Germans, in the Middle Colonies, were of stone. A feature often commented on by visitors to the eastern colonies. So far as Boston is concerned, the explanation is that Boston is in a stoneless country, and Rockport granite and Roxbury granite are extensively used.



CHAPTER V

BOSTON REVOLUTION—ROYAL GOVERNORS— WITCHCRAFT

THE consent of the colony to attempt an inland settlement was reluctantly given to Pynchon. "Pioneer" was stamped on the brow and shone in the piercing eyes of him who blazed the Bay Path westward to the first important stopping-place, which he named "Springfield," after his native English town.

This Bay Path extended back of the shore-front and coast road to both the Plymouth and the Bay Colonies and is today continued into the Boston and New York Post Road, bisecting Springfield, New Haven, Milford, Bridge-

port, Stamford and other well-known cities and towns. It is a thoroughfare which has witnessed many a scene like this rough roadside camp. In those early days, it was an unwritten law never to take the path alone or unarmed. Sturdy manhood and delicate womanhood made up the group that breasted the rigors of winter, as settlers slowly but surely reclaimed the wilderness lying westward from the sea.

No "flag of truce leading a forlorn hope" dampened the spirit of these pioneers who built their cabins and reared family altars in the Indian Land.

Possibly Pynchon consid-



William Pynchon



gration was not only checked, but the emigration from America to England of many men of light and leading was notable. The swing was from monarchy to a commonwealth and toward Free Churchmanship. The change proved to be a magnet of potency to draw men back home. It seemed a New England to them.

John Winthrop, who had staked his all in coming over, became sorely burdened, as he saw the movement of American colonization languish.

"As some went thither upon undigested grounds, and saw not God's leading them in their way, but were carried by an unstayed spirit, so have they returned upon as sleight, headless, unworthy reasons as they went. Others must have elbow-rooms and cannot abide to be so pinioned with the strict government in the Commonwealth, or discipline in the Church."

That ever-present firebrand, the Charter of 1628, seriously affected Plymouth. In answer to the royal command for the Charter's return, colonists briefly wrote to the king in words oozing obsequious homage.

"ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,—That majesty and benignity both sat upon the throne whereunto your outcasts made their former address, witness this second eucharistical approach unto the best of kings, who, to other titles of royalty common to him with other gods amongst men, delighted therein more peculiarly to conform himself to the God of gods, in that he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted, neither hath he hid his face from him, but when he cried he heard. Our petition was the representation of an exile's necessities. This script, gratulatory and lowly, is the reflection of the gracious rays of Christian majesty. There we besought your favor by presenting to a compassionate eye that bottle full of tears shed by us in this Jeshimon. Here we also acknowledge the efficacy of regal influence to qualify these salt waters. The mission of ours was accomplished with these churches sitting in sackcloth; the reception of yours was the holding forth the sceptre of life."

The response in material form was the immediate fortification of Castle Island, the drilling of men, purchase and concealment of supplies and military stores, and the election of a Council of war and defense, consisting of Dudley,

Winthrop, Haynes, Humphrey, brother-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln, and Endecott. All this expressed a determined effort on the part of colonists to have their government free from too much interference from beyond sea. Thirty-five years after the king's

request for recall, one finds the politically inclined Puritan, expert at lobby-

ing, still coddling royalty and blocking the charter-wreckers by sending His Majesty, Charles II, a shipload of masts costing sixteen hundred pounds. That the Merry Monarch was not lacking in politic courtesy is shown by his letter of acknowledgment written April 21, 1669.

The gift and flattering words mollified King Charles, saturated as he was with court pleasures, while it postponed still farther that inevitable day of disastrous reckoning. Though the reputation of Charles II smacks strongly of dissipation, the king cheerfully said, "I greatly admire virtue in others that I cannot attain." Among other vagaries, ladies of the court were encouraged to be frugally attired.*

For twoscore years the colonists staggered along, impudently clashing with royal governors on the spot in spite of envious Lords of Trade, but free in large measure from direct transatlantic interference.

England's turmoil over the episodes of Long and Short Parliaments, the King, the Protector, and the disrupting Dutch and German wars, being for the most part things of the past, the Lords of Trade, members of the Privy Council, were backed in sentiment by the "Captains of Industry" of the late seventeenth century. These Englishmen, eager for shillings, began to look enviously across the Atlantic at the fast-growing rich and recalcitrant colonies. These ignored the Navigation Laws (originally directed

* Up to the hour of the accession of Charles II to the throne, no woman had graced the boards of a theatre.

against the Dutch), coined their own money, minus the King's profile; denied the right of suffrage to all Church of England men, and read into the charter extraordinary powers, broader than its intention. They brought important questions out of English jurisdiction, disposing of them under American rulings. They passed laws repugnant to the Mother Country, banished the Book of Common Prayer, ignored the King's name in writs, required no oath of allegiance to His Majesty, and discouraged appeals to England as absolutely unnecessary. Ten gauntlets were thus thrown down before the throne. When Edward Randolph, on investigation bent and backed by kingly mandate, arrived in New England on June 10, 1676, the average colonist seemed to have one foot in the stirrup for a farther charge against royal authority. Randolph came to "look up" Boston's five thousand inhabitants. He did his work most thoroughly, sowing seeds that harvested in the Revolution.

On Randolph's second visit to New England, in 1679, swollen with authority, he read to Governor John Leverett the King's Commission, making Randolph Collector of Customs, endowing him with arbitrary power to enforce the odious Navigation Laws.

The Governor, called "the war horse of the Commonwealth," flippantly inquired, "Who is this Henry Coventry?"

"The king's chief Secretary of State," hotly replied the insulted Randolph.

A far different interview this from that when Governor John Endecott, being handed the "King's Missive," obsequiously doffed hat to Shattuck, the Quaker. Kingly authority in New England had evidently lapsed somewhat during the intervening years.

Governor John Leverett not only kept his hat on, but in brusque language discomfited Randolph by saying:

"Matter from the king herein contained were very inconsiderable things and easily arrived at, and it did in no way concern that governor to take notice thereof."

The message was conveyed to the king by Randolph, with the farther statement that "Your Majesty's letter was thought no more of than an old London Gazette."

This was a method of pillorying colonists that later brought them much weariness of spirit.

The return and cancellation of the King Charles Charter of 1629 continued to be a worryment both sides of the Atlantic. As early as 1651, Parliament demanded the Charter's return. It required a year for the slow-moving diplomats to answer this request according to their methods, and some forty odd years for absolute cancellation.

That august body, the General Court, in August, 1661, obsequiously, and in a tone of conciliation, petitioned King Charles II, and with fair words shielded their disobedience in still refusing to yield the document.

The employment of lawyer Robert Humphrey to prevent cancellation of the Charter was futile, as the Court of Chancery on October 23, 1684, annulled the instrument which for fifty-six years had been in controversy.

The history of the 1628 Charter was as tragic and varied as were its inherent powers. Smuggled aboard the *Arabella* by the Winthrop colonists, guarded by trustees with jealous care, made in duplicate, hastily hidden at different times, its fate was ever uppermost in the public mind.

Plymouth escaped much of the arbitrary rule of dictatorial Governor Andros. It refused by town vote to deed Clark's Island to the Crown, as demanded by the Governor through one of his satellites, coincidentally named Nathaniel Clark, who temporarily held possession of this historic spot.



ANDROS WHO BLED THE PEOPLE.

The town rested on its non-royal patents as authority for denying a fee simple to those whom they considered interlopers.

The arrogant Andros declared land titles invalid, and



Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Co.

ANDROS' SEAL WHICH SUPPLANTED THAT OF PLYMOUTH COLONY.

fined and imprisoned those who would not lay their hands on the Bible when taking oath, an attitude which interfered also with the collection of his fees. The Governor's business methods often closely approached blackmail. He required all probate matters under his jurisdiction to be transacted in Boston, under conditions onerously rasping to the colonists. Some historians treat apologetically the acts of Andros, but the mere statement of these condemn the man.

With the forefathers the question of land tenure was a vexatious one from the hour when the Pilgrims preëmpted the deserted cornfields of the pestilence-obliterated Patuxet Indians. Andros, with the purpose of swelling his private exchequer, demanded a Crown grant. Attempting thus to absorb the hard-earned money of colonists, he declared "that an Indian deed was worth no more than the scratch of a bear's paw." The claim of a Balboa and a Cabot, that a land inhabited by uncivilized beings belonged to that country sending out the discoverers was similiar to that of Andros

and seems to have held among nations through the centuries to the present hour. The holding of such a dogma by so-called Christian governments is one of the most potent factors in hindering the conversion of pagans—in other words, neutralizing one of the chief purposes for which both Pilgrim and Puritan crossed the Atlantic.

The method of saving Connecticut's charter was more dramatic than that of Massachusetts. Filched from under the hands and eyes of Andros, after candles had been extinguished, William Wadsworth clutched the charter and rushed through the streets of Hartford, his errand finished when he had hidden the precious parchment in the Charter Oak. This tree was deservedly honored by the faithful for generations until a hurricane trumpeted its dissolution. A section of a bough cut off in the form of a bow or yoke for the Liberty Bell, was sent to Independence Hall in Philadelphia, where it still abides among honored relics that are as landmarks along the path of freedom.



BOSTONIANS INSULTING ANDROS.

Foiled in obtaining the charter, clerk Allyn recognized that the end had come, and wrote at the end of the Connecticut record book "Finis."

In no clearer way does one discern the sarcastic disdain in which the colonists were held by Andros, than in his seal of New England, which obliterated the seal of Plymouth Colony. It shows white man and Indian, side by side, posing as sycophants for royal favor, equal in all things, with the motto:

"A more pleasing liberty never existed."

These latter years of the seventeenth century saw stirring times in Boston and Plymouth, when the people launched that first Revolution. Then the manacled Governor was unceremoniously routed from his boarding-place* on Wing



THE CHARTER OAK.



THE CONNECTICUT CHARTER.

Lane (Elm Street) near the corner of Middle (Hanover) Street, and was forced to march with laggard feet, followed by a jeering rabble down what is now State Street.

Filched by Governor Andros in 1686, the Plymouth seal was presumably lost, as it was never restored. It represented four men kneeling with implumed hearts and the legend "Plimouth Nov-Anglia Sigillum Societatis."

Another assertion of their rights was now made by the colonists. The frigate *Rose* was shorn of her menacing power when Isaac Addington signed the mandate of an outraged people that placed her spars and sails securely under lock and key in Yankeeland.

The lengths to which he had gone took Andros to Castle Prison without bail, and returned him to England. These were stirring times, when the populace captured the fort to which Andros had fled, and forced the surrender of the royal frigate.

* Boarding-houses seem to have been the abode even of semi-royalty in Boston, as one finds President George Washington, on his famous visit to the Hub in 1789, nearly one hundred years later, lodging at Joseph Ingersoll's boarding house, at the southeast corner of Tremont and Court streets. Doubtless, however, the menu was as good as that spread daily for Sir Edmund in the renowned establishment kept by Madame Rebecca Tailer.

From their prison cells these eight Royalists, including Andros and Dudley, thus signatured, and begged for freedom or transportation to England.

It is not the ordinary criminal ones sees thus driven

before one of Boston's mobs, yet to many in the crowd he is more deeply dyed than if so adjudged. To king and

John Atlyn secretly

Tory he is Sir Edmund Andros, the first Royal Governor of New England. This condemned man is beginning to reap the whirlwind of ruthlessness which he sowed when, accompanied by Edward Randolph, the hated collector, surveyor, and searcher for the Crown, he took up the reins of government and drove with an iron hand a people who had taken deep draughts of freedom, and already knew how to govern themselves as did their Pilgrim and Puritan ancestors.

The coming of King William, Prince of Orange, under whom the British Free Churchmen were given liberty almost equal to that seen in Holland, stirred Olde and Newe England. His mother was a daughter of the be-headed English king, his wife the daughter of James

II, who fled to France, and a year later futilely fought William, his son-in-law, at the Battle of the Boyne, on the greensward of "Auld" Ireland. In his seal of office his flatterers, in those days of admiration of the Roman classics, depicted him as a laurel-crowned emperor. It showed also that love for the horse was characteristic of him.

History records that this William, great-grandson of William the Silent, literally gave his life, as well as his



DISAPPEARANCE OF THE CONNECTICUT.
CHARTER.

"kingdom for a horse." From 1650 the career of this, one of the best of the kings of England, was checkered. To this day the dwindling few of the Stuart admirers of royalty drink to the health of "the little gentleman in black"—the



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ANDROS' FUTILE ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE,
DRESSED AS A WOMAN.

December 26th 1689
Andros
J. Dudley
E. Randolph
J. Palmer
Ja. Greaves
W. Mott
James Sherbrooke
Ed. Harwood

Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Co.

PETITION OF ANDROS,
DUDLEY, AND OTHERS.

mole, over the hole of which William's horse stumbled, causing the rider's death.

After line upon line of kings of England recruited from foreign countries, sovereignty was represented by Anne, daughter of James II. The queen became too busy in vital matters at home to take up cudgels for or against the colonists. The Duchess of Marlborough is said to have ruled England through Anne, the queen. Then followed two German Georges, I and II, so finely characterized by Thackeray in "The Four Georges." These Hanoverians evinced little interest in England's holdings in the New World.

People said of the two women: "Queen Anne reigns, Queen Sarah governs," so far did Queen Anne permit herself

humanity—but was apprehended with his baggage. With the return ticket given him, he travelled back to the Fort Prison on Castle Island, Boston, Massachusetts.

Ex-Governor Simon Bradstreet was nearly ninety years



QUEEN ANNE.



SARAH CHURCHILL.

of age, and the last survivor of the band of leaders in Winthrop's company, when that meteoric overthrow of Governor Andros automatically seated him again in the executive chair. When the people had reinstated other town officers under their old charter, this act of courage was condoned and even indorsed by William III after Increase Mather had visited the Motherland and argumentatively told his tale of woe to the king. The colonial delegate explained the righteousness of the act, and assured the king that good government, in which he, following the path marked and trodden by statesmen, expected to have a hand, would lead the way out.

New England's first poetess, Ann Bradstreet, daughter of the irascible Governor Thomas Dudley, and wife of Governor Simon Bradstreet, the last colonial governor, thus berated another woman's censorious and surely envious tongue, that wagged against her because, forsooth, though a model wife and mother, she poetized.

WITCHCRAFT

"I am obnoxious to each carping tongue
Who says my hand a needle better fits
A poet's pen all scorn I thus should
For such despite they cast on female
If what I do prove well, it won't admit
They'll say it's stolen, or else it was



William III

WILLIAM III.

TEN
Lately spru
Severall
with gre
and Lea
Wherein of p
pleat disc
The Four
Together with
the Po
The
Also a Dialog
New, com
With short
By a Gent
Printed at London
Bible an
TITLED BY ANNE BRADSTREET

PO
ANN B

Again slipping into verse, she described
progeny.

"I had eight birds hatched in one nest
Four cocks there were, and hens
I nurst them up with pain and care
Nor cost nor labor did I spare;
Till, at last, they felt their wing,
Mounted the trees and learned to sing

Ann Bradstreet was certainly not without
own land and time, and in fulsome manner
Reverend John Norton, in sober earnest, as
would have been mortified when he compared
with Ann Bradstreet's." The erudite Cotton
New England's first poetess on the platform

Gentlemen

I have suffered near sic Maule, Imp^{ro}per
me to be very great hurt of my health and oc-
casions necessary for support of a great fam-
ly.

I am
Gentlemen

4 Oct. 1689 Your Humble servant
J. Dudley.

Courtesy of Houghton, Mifflin Co.

JOSEPH DUDLEY'S PETITION TO THE AUTHORITIES.

and Eudocia. Present-day critics have an opportunity to clash at the antipodes of judgment with Cotton Mather and John Norton, as Ann Bradstreet's effusions in large number are still in print.

It was in April 1688, that Increase Mather, disguised to avoid Randolph's shoulder tap of arrest, gained the cabin of the ship *President* and sailed for England. Three or four years of diplomacy with two kings and many lobbying courtiers, the ministry, and parliament, were needed to obtain a new charter dated 1691. King James agreed to its terms, but died before signing. The important document finally received the signature of William III, a staunch Reformed Churchman.

It was fortunate for both Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies that Increase Mather was on the spot and thoroughly awake to vital diplomacy. In April, 1689, news of Boston's bloodless revolution and the jailing of Governor Andros and others of his stripe reached the British monarch's

WITCHCRAFT

ear. Mather's published pamphlet, "Ne-
cated from the aspersion of those who sa-
was taken away because Colonists Destro-
tures and Commerce of England," and



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TYPES OF DUTCH SHIPS ON WHICH
PILGRIMS FREQUENTLY SAILED.

Oates, Mather gained a permanent and
victory for the colonists, who had lain unde-
displeasure.

Events traveled fast, as in 1692 came
Province the Maine backwoods boy, S-
under the patronage of In-
crease Mather, leading the
van of the ten Royal Govern-
ors that ruled New England
until 1775.

Increase Mather, who
served the Lord in Boston
town, went to England, fra-
ternized with two kings, and
lobbied with Parliament and
the nobility, obtaining there-
by a new charter in 1691,
combining Plymouth with the
Massachusetts colonies, and raising Sir
Royal Governorship.

The coming and going of some of
Rulers of New England, is here shown in

ment before
English p-
champion
friend, I
cured for
preacher
ing. In
interfere
missioner



KIN

THE ROYAL GOVERNORS THAT RULED NEW ENGLAND
FROM 1692 TO 1775.



LIST OF ROYAL GOVERNORS

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS, appointed October, 1691; commissioner December 12, 1691; arrived Boston, May 14, 1692; records begin, May 16, 1692; left Boston, November 17, 1694.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON, Lieutenant-Governor, acting Governor, November, 1694, to May 26, 1699.

RICHARD, EARL OF BELLOMONT, reached Boston, May 26, 1699; went to New York, May 1700.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON, Lieutenant-Governor, acting Governor, May 1700 to July 7, 1701, when he died. (The Council governed without an executive, July 1701 to June 1702.)



JOSEPH DUDLEY, reached Boston June 11, 1702; governed till February 4, 1714-15. (The Council acted February 4, 1714-15, to March 21, 1714-15.)

JOSEPH DUDLEY, reassumed office March 21, 1714-15.

COL. ELISHA BURGESS, commission published in Boston November 9, 1715; when

WILLIAM TAILER, Lieutenant-Governor, began to act as Governor, and continued to act (while Burgess was selling his commission to Shute's friends in England) till October 4, 1716; when

SAMUEL SHUTE arrived, having been commissioned June 15, 1716. He left Boston January 1, 1722-23; when

WILLIAM DUMMER, Lieutenant-Governor, acted till July 13, 1728; when

WILLIAM BURNET arrived, having been appointed March 7, 1727-28. He died in Boston September 7, 1729; when

WILLIAM DUMMER again acted, until

JONATHAN BELCHER arrived, August 10, 1730, who governed until

WILLIAM SHIRLEY, then living in Boston, was commissioned May 16, 1741, and governed until August 2, 1757; when

THOMAS POWNALL arrived, having been appointed February 25, 1757. Pownall sailed for England June 3, 1760; when

THOMAS HUTCHINSON, Lieutenant-Governor, acted until August 2, 1760; when

FRANCIS BERNARD arrived, having been commissioned January 14, 1760. He sailed for England August 2, 1769; when

THOMAS HUTCHINSON again acted until his own commission as Governor arrived early in March 1771. (He had been appointed November 28, 1770.) Hutchinson sailed for England June 1, 1774, having been superseded by

THOMAS GAGE, who was appointed April 7, 1774, and had arrived in Boston May 13, 1774. In the same month the Provincial Congress declared him disqualified, and while Boston was besieged he sailed for England October, 1775.

Among Plymouth's important documents were signatures covering eighty-four years by the ten Royal Governors (eleven including Shute, who sold his commission) ruling Plymouth, Massachusetts, Maine, Nova Scotia, and the lands between—omitting New Hampshire.

A glaring contrast between these two groups of pre-Revolutionary Governors, the Colonial, and the Royal Pro-

vincial, the former of and for the people; the latter of or aping royalty, and for the Crown against the people forever and aye. Every act during their occupancy of the governor's chair manifested sycophancy to the Crown. Each move plainly revealed the Collar of the Master. Troublous times came to most of the ten rulers in struggling to do their duty as they saw it.

Who should pay the officials' salary continued to be a bone of contention, not only to Pilgrim and Puritan, but in other colonies, especially New York. Colonial pride objected to the Mother Country's paying the Governor's salary, amounting to about one thousand pounds per annum. The colonists assumed the obligation, though not always approving the sort of governors sent to them. At times they withheld the gubernatorial salary. The two supports not always agreeing, the governors oft had humiliating financial falls, and colonists had the gloating satisfaction of seeing irritating debt burdening rulers' shoulders. The general impression also prevailed that the usual governor sent them from England was a land speculator who had accepted office to pay his debts.

It was through a whirlwind of death that the unpopular Joseph Dudley stepped again into public view.

First Lord Bellomont died; then the lieutenant-governor succeeding him died. William III soon afterward appointed Joseph Dudley governor, while this king shortly followed the way appointed to all men.

Though three of the Royal Governors were to the manor born, they were in spirit and action as strangers in a strange land. The Earl of Bellomont did indeed graciously attend the Thursday lecture and mingle with the people, but his ulterior purpose in so doing was so apparent, that Benjamin Bullivant, the Tory apothecary doctor, dared to tell him to his face that if he could have made as much by it he would have gone to Thursday lecture also. The Royal Governors were indices neither of the times nor the people.

They were rather excrescences which had to be removed by the scalpel of the Revolution when the psychological moment arrived. The last incumbent, Thomas Gage, an acknowledged failure, stepped down, and the town of Western Massachusetts, named after him, was renamed Washington.



James I.

JAMES I.
THE BIGOT KING.

When Increase Mather and the North Ender, Sir William Phips, born on the banks of the Kennebec, reached Boston Town, the Provincial Government under direct royal patronage was fairly started, with the first of the ten Royal Governors in the chair. The Reverend Increase Mather returned as one in authority to his country from which he had fled in disguise, with spoils of office well in hand. There was a governor of his own choosing and nepotism was rampant

in many a minor political berth. His mixing of religion and politics engendered strife and in the end unhappiness to the Reverend Increase, whose prestige rapidly waned.

The first Provincial Governor besides being "self-made" was the twenty-first son of a brood of twenty-six born in the Maine forest, all the progeny of one father and mother, so say unauthenticated records. That money accelerates the mare's pace was well exemplified in the case of Governor Phips, but coupled with affluence was an irascible temper—that life-shortener which eliminates friends, dims prestige, and blocks satisfying success.

Plymouth shared with Massachusetts Bay, Nova Scotia

and the other colonies the good and the ill embodied in the Charter of 1691 and in its prerogatives which practically duplicated the Old Charter as to law making and religious freedom, but added that vital restriction, the appointment of a governor by the king. This was looked upon as a body blow at the sacred right of colonial suffrage.

WITCHCRAFT

Like wildfire the fearsome delusion had for generations spread in England and most of the countries of the continent. In 1647 Matthew Hopkins, British Witchfinder General, clothed with authority from the courts to practice his sleuth-craft methods in any manner he chose, raged through England subjecting victims to a wide range of torture and indignities. Hundreds were sacrificed through the water-test (later adopted by the judicial General Court of Massachusetts). Other equally absurd methods were used in ferreting out the presence of evil spirits and the familiars, or imps, which the witches were supposed to cuddle in their bosoms, and send out at will to nag, confuse, and injure their victims. Power to cure, through mind control or herbs, became a deadly boomerang of destruction to sympathetic souls whose only crime was a desire to aid suffering humanity. These familiars or imps, to the diseased minds of accusers, took the form of man, woman, dog, cat, rat, frog, etc., and drew their life from the body of the witch, leaving the flesh insensible and bloodless. Watching for the return of the imps for sustenance (usually at night), and adopting the Hopkins rule, was one of the surest methods of witch detection. One can imagine the searcher for condemnatory evidence peering through knot- or keyhole with bated breath and tense muscles for the arrival of the satanic imps to companion the witch, who was usually an old woman. In fairy tales of pre-ancient life in the woods, as in the mythology of pseudo-Christian lore, the weird crone was the one believed to work wonders in that realm of a

nearly omnipotent Satan, which mediævalism had conjured before diseased fancy.

Some unfortunate English victim had in his possession the devil's private memorandum book in which the Prince of Evil had enrolled names of his enchained vassals.



WITCH HILL IN SALEM MASS.

The discovery of this book by the authorities sealed the doom of many an innocent person, though containing simply a list of prominent people.

Among these Hopkins claimed to have found the name of the Reverend Lewis, a man over eighty years of age, who had preached more than fifty years. He was first given the pond test. Then, standing on the fatal drop, he read his own funeral service. In the pond test the victim's right thumb was tied to his left great toe, and the victim dragged back and forth in the water. If he floated, he was guilty, if he sank, he was innocent. Hopkins' victims—what was left of them—finally turned on their persecutor and gave him a dose of his own medicine, and he sank, innocent (?), but let us hope to meet his just deserts.

In the Puritan camp years later witchcraft superstition wrought to the full its horrid mission.

Galloping on sunbeams, or on a broom-stick through the air, dwelling in cat and serpent forms, came droves of demoniac witches to terrorize New England.

It was an ominous and forbidding cloud of mystery

that hung over Witchland during the delusion that rocked the world, but Plymouth was not part of it. Long before Pilgrims entered the Dutch Republic, a book was written exposing the false notions concerning the power of the Evil One to enter or hurt the bodies of men. Later on, after Balthazar Bekker, aided by his wife, both of whom ran down lies and proved them such, published his great book, "The Bewitched World" (*Betooered Wereld*), the mental atmosphere of Europe changed. From this time forth, educated men as a rule no longer held to this relic of heathenism. In the darkest of pagan lands today the belief in witchcraft is the chief obstacle to real Christianity.

The New England victims of the witchcraft delusion were hanged, but none were ever burned, as so many after-dinner, sectional, or sensational orators and the caterers to cheap picture shows like to believe.

Twenty years and more before Winthrop sailed into Salem harbor, England had passed through an epidemic of delusion that had cost the lives of thirty thousand of her people, men and women. This number, added to the victims sacrificed in France, Germany, Spain and other European countries, swelled the total to several hundred thousand legalized murders committed through man's fear of the powers of darkness. The mediæval theology of Christendom, that exaggerated to frightful proportions the inheritances from paganism, among a people that had only a slight knowledge of the truth which Jesus revealed—the fatherhood of the God of Love—is largely responsible for the belief among Christian people in this superstition.

The death-toll of witchcraft, on this side of the water, numbering four in Boston and thirty-two in the rest of New England, was small compared with the orgy of murder under the form of law in Europe. Yet American colonists have had obloquy heaped on them for yielding to the fanaticism of the times, which prevented clear thinking in an age when drastic law appeared to be the only escape from

the Evil One and his supposed power. Science, a true philosophy, and a right interpretation of the Scriptures, in time unshackled the human intellect and delivered men from a superstition that has no necessary connection with Christianity.



WITCHES THAT RODE ON THE BROOMSTICK AND DRAGGED POWER FROM THE AIR.

WITCHCRAFT'S BRIEF REIGN IN NEW ENGLAND

That horrid run of persecution for supposed witchcraft, based on the assumption of human intercourse with Satan, unnerved and in some cases unhinged the strongest minds in New England.

None promulgated this doctrine more strenuously than the clergy and the physicians—those sworn defenders of soul and body. The former held to the notion that Satan was speaking through the witch, as supposed to be chronicled in Holy Writ. The latter, more in the name of science, so-called, pronouncedly hid behind the belief that his cures for epilepsy and other disorders were blocked by the doings of the devil, in whose almost omnipotent powers he believed.

In those days a sentence from the Hebrew Scriptures, even from ordinances of hygiene, social, political, or concerning cattle, was held to be equal in practical and spiritual value with the words and spirit of Him, who, in his human

life, fulfilled or nullified these ancient regulations. It was quite easy to transfer the superstitions of pagan ancestors into "confirmation strong as proof of Holy Writ," when the historical and doctrinal developments in the Biblical library were not yet discerned. There was in educated men that belief, which the prelates of any and every age and cult like to have prevalent, namely, that the faith—the monopoly of which they control—is a "deposit" not to be changed, but to be unchangeable (*semper ubique ab omnibus*, that is, always, everywhere, and by all.)

The main craze in New England began in Boston in 1688, when the children of Mr. Goodwin accused Mrs. Glover, the mother of their Irish servant girl, of bewitching them. The epidemic ended when two sons of ex-Governor Bradstreet ran away to escape the halter. The wife of Sir William Phips, the governor, was accused, and the life of Samuel Willard, honored minister of the Old South and later ruling President of Harvard College, was endangered.

The fact of personal animus in this blasting belief, holding wealth and social and official position in a death grip through the accusation of any street vagrant, was finally brought to a head by the deeper thinkers.

Judge Nathaniel Saltonstall abandoned the bench in disgust leaving on it William Stoughton of armored conscience and the tender-hearted though sadly misguided Samuel Sewall. These, with those seven co-judges, voted to proceed with a horrible "massacre of the innocents" which resulted in twenty deaths, fifty-five confessions and retractions, and one hundred and fifty imprisonments.

Finally a clear-minded citizen of Andover, Massachusetts, accused of witchcraft, brought matters to a climax, even as common sense Plymouth men had already solved the problem months before, by hauling his traducer before the court and claiming substantial cash damages for defamation of character, basing action on that libel law of 1645.

The touching of the Puritan pocket-book aided mightily to dissipate the horror. Then the saner view spread like wild-fire, jail doors swung open and the craze went by. Fair play and the chance of being prosecuted and fined for libel won the day. Up to this hour witchcraft had been included in the ten offenses punishable by death as named by the Reverend Nathaniel Ward in his *Body of Liberties*. Among others were murder and treason to Commonwealth or King, while in the front rank, firmly rooted, stood idolatry and blasphemy. Culprits under death sentence were forced just before their execution to attend divine service, and the roundabout march, to and from the meeting-house, to please the curious, ended either on Boston Common or Roxbury Neck. Both gallows-grounds furnished gruesome entertainment to a people who had not yet passed from that stage of moral evolution in which capital punishment is reckoned as a public amusement. Moreover, this season of horror occurred not during the first generation of pioneers but in that second generation which, almost as by a law of nature, showed degeneration, when set in contrast with a previous heroic epoch—a phenomenon witnessed notably and commented on in the second generation in missionary fields and among the black freed men in the South.

Autographs of ten members of the witchcraft court, men of sterling worth, who tried and condemned innocent fellow beings for practicing witchcraft are here shown. These judges legalized each death warrant, save as Nathaniel Saltonstall—honor to the name—washed his hands of the blood-curdling business by withdrawing from this combination of deluded men.

The Court opened early in the year 1692, and met again on June 30, and August 5. Then, after causing the execution of an even score of their fellows, adjourned to September 22, the same year, never to meet again. The stern Lieutenant-Governor, William Stoughton, failed to recant from his firmly rooted position of righteous judgment

*A Bill against Conjuración, Witchcraft
and dealing with evil and wicked spirits.
For more particular direction in the Execution of the
Law against Witchcraft*

26. 11. 92:

William And Phips

*Read several times in Council, Voted, Ordered to be
Engrossed and pass into an Act. directed.*

And is consented unto

I William Phips

THE WITCHCRAFT BILL.

William Houghton.

John Richards

Peter Sergeant Sam Sewall

Mark Saltinshall John Hathorne

Walt Wintedge Tho. Newton

Bento Doney Jonathan Rowing

Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Co.

THE WITCHCRAFT BILL, SIGNED BY GOVERNOR PHIPS, AND THE JUDGES
WHO CONDEMNED THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS BY ITS AUTHORITY.

against devil-made and devil-ruled witches, but Samuel Sewall stood with bowed head in the (Old) South Meeting House on Fast Day, January 14, 1697, while the minister proclaimed the judge's confessed error and contrition therefor. In the emphatic prayer uttered by the good judge as an "Amen," opportunity was seized to slide into his harangue to the Lord a helpful word for his own immediate household

—"The good and gracious God be pleased to save New England and me and my family."

To intensify his repentance, Samuel Sewall gave one entire day each year during the remainder of his life to fasting, prayer, penance, and remorse over his judicial acts in the witchcraft trials.



WITCH PINS.

Hard and stern of heart was this stiff-necked, unyielding bachelor, the Puritan Lieutenant-Governor (Judge) William Stoughton who, with as much satisfaction and keen relish as he ate a well-cooked dinner, ordered a witch to the gallows from a sense of duty. One of William Stoughton's contributions to literature is still frequently quoted: "God sifted the grain of an entire nation." An appropriate epitaph for this hardest-shelled Puritan, whose stern face and attitude did not belie his obses-

sion and might suggest to all onlookers even more than any spoken word—"Here in truth at last the world can see a clean hand and undefiled heart."

An inheritance from the dark forests and the heathenism of three continents, was the superstition fed on omens, ghosts, goblins, and weird twilight-told tales. These were made more gruesome through fitful shadows cast by blazing logs in the fireplace and up the chimney-throat. Such spectres of the brain fostered brooding thoughts, alike in child-



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JOHN ALDEN'S SON ACCUSED OF WITCHCRAFT IN BOSTON.

hood and age, and started the elfish craze, until witchcraft burst wildly forth with all its horrid clutching strength in New England homes. In more modern days, with advance in psychology and child study, we see how the fancies of children,

who made companions and playmates of imaginary, non-existing characters, may account in large measure for the New England mania of witchcraft. Especially is this true, when studied in the light of environment and historical development.

The negro servant woman, Tituba, from Barbadoes, saturated with superstition, employed in the home of the Reverend Samuel Parish, innocently started the cataclysm of blood in Salem village (South Danvers), bewitching (?) the daughter of the house, little nine-year-old Lizzie Parish.

Margaret Rule, according to Spiritualists, seems to have been one of the first mediums in the New World used by the so-called spirit forces to startle the Puritans. It cost poor Margaret her life, and submerged Puritan childhood, youth, and age in terror of the dark for generations. It is recorded that her tormentors kept her from taking food for nine days; pinched her so that black and blue marks were visible; thrust pins into her neck, back, and arms; poured scalding brimstone upon her, raising blisters upon her skin; and alleged a chemical phenomenon that troubled the olfactories of those who called themselves witnesses. The sulphuric odor so filled the house that scores of "witnesses" could hardly endure it. Six persons testified, over their own names, in three affidavits, that they had seen Margaret Rule lifted from her bed by an invisible force, so as to touch the garret floor. One wonders whether what was called witchcraft wrought more on the "witnesses" than on the victims.

Ann, widow of William Hibbens, one of Boston's most prominent merchants, was hanged because she had "more wit than her neighbors." When in court the scales of justice turned against Ann Hibbens, as soon as it was proved that she had stated of two of her persecutors that they were seen talking on the street, presumably of her. An innocent remark, a glance of the eye, or a gesture without spoken word, was thus often sufficient ground for an accusation of witchcraft. It convinced the court of a fast-bound league with

Satan and sent innocence to the gallows. "Trifles light as air" balanced the scale with the supposed mandates of Holy Writ.

In the witch hunts of those days, wherein neither maid nor matron, wealth nor poverty, was sacred from the desecrat-



NEW ENGLAND'S WITCH-FINDER-GENERAL; "A PURE HEART AND A CLEAN HAND. COUNTRYMEN," IN GESTURE SAID THE BACHELOR GOVERNOR.

ing gaze of the witch finder, who acted as sleuth, evidence was recognized in spots on the body, from which the imps supposedly drew sustenance. "There's the mark of the imps," shrieked the onlooker. From the Bible, that was made a false light to the Puritan, not "breaking full," as Robinson wrote, the preacher with solemn unction read from the pulpit:

"Ye shall not suffer a witch to live."

In desperation, attempting to obey Holy Writ, the Puritan succeeded in forcing the doorway to eternity for a score and more of innocent New Englanders besides incarcerating two hundred persons and pointing the finger of accusation alike at high and low.

Puritans never faced more troublous times than when friend, wife, husband, and child pointed with trembling fingers toward each other, and with husky voice and staring eyes said, "there is a witch," knowing well the declaration would bring a scaffold death to their home, yet not daring to cross "God's" command to "crush the indwelling devil."

"If the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness," said He who revealed the Father and taught the good news of God. "Have the new mind and believe the good news" was the word of John, the forerunner of the Christ.

WITCHCRAFT

Raising the curtain that hid from sight the darker side of New England's domestic tragedies for two hundred and fifty years, in the center of the stage we see and hear Cotton Mather in that unholy hour of the execution of the Reverend George Burroughs.

A spurious sword of justice had been wielded with some eagerness by the hands of a Triumvirate, but into mercy and even ordinary fairness, into the hands of a man commanding that he do his worst and die.

Two historic representative scenes, exactly as they appeared on the board of the stage in England, in February, 1692, stand forth before us. They bring the present face to face with the past, the craft craze which had set the world on fire, the scene opens with two theses, Life and Death. Two rival orators, Victim and Persecutor. The Reverend Cotton Mather on horseback riding through the crowd, exerting his intense influence to smother the people's sympathy, reminding himself sometimes puts on the garb of the Devil. The Boston minister vehemently demands justice, though the victim was the Reverend Cotton Mather, a fellow of his Alma Mater. "Can such wickedness harbor the Devil?" whispered shrinking in the ear of sturdy manhood, that was silent in the face of the weird.

The statement that the storm which swept over the prisoner was engineered by the Devil, and that the accused man, the arrested George Burroughs, posed votary, was the clinching argument in the trial, an argument that cost Burroughs his life.

Again the curtain is raised, and one of the great ministers, Nicholas Noyes, pointing with his finger the crusader to eight of his former neighbors, the nature-grown gallows tree,* wind driven, the gallows tree. We hear this "man of God" declaring to a



Courtesy of Jones Bros. Pub. Co.

COTTON MATHER DEMANDING THE DEATH OF GEORGE BURROUGHS AGAINST
THE REAL WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

group of his parishioners, with a soul-stirring unction savoring of thankfulness for a work well done; "What a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of hell hanging there."

The deposition of Mary Daniel swearing away the lives of her companions clearly pictures this blot on Massachusetts' fair fame, which can be saved from strictest condemnation only by making allowance for the superstition of the times that was desolating all Europe, except in the countries in which, during twelve years, the Pilgrims were educated. It may be queried why the Massachusetts of today, the synonym of progress and ever proud of her education, trod this particular murder-path almost alone, though Connecticut in moderate measure also came under the ban. Sarah Good voiced the thought of some less forgiving victims of this craze when she shrieked in the ears of judge, persecutor and

X



prosecutor, "If you take my life God will give you blood to drink." Does reasoning stray far afield in saying that her prediction was fulfilled?

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THUNDER STORM THAT AIDED IN HANGING
GEORGE BURROUGHS

Guysboro, N. S., Fanny Dismal (known as Old Jewel), had been held for trial for practicing witchcraft, showing that this eerie belief still has votaries in some far-off corners of this civilized continent.

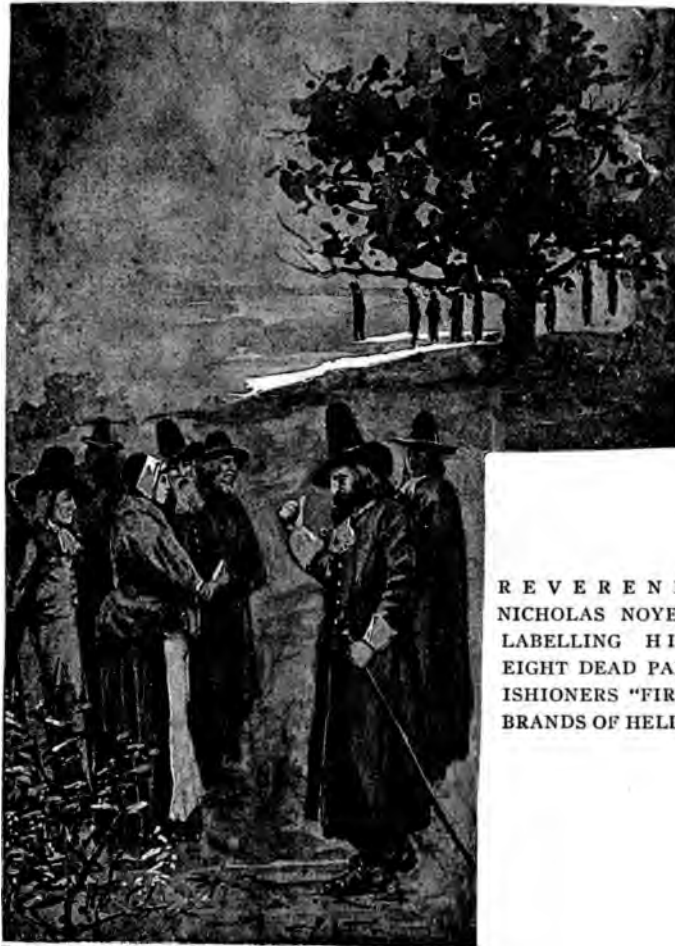
In the year 1920 Italian peasants in some manufacturing towns in Connecticut, living in the shadow of steeples and churches yet under the spell of witch superstition, believed fully in the Evil Eye supposed to cause the death of children and to bring dire disasters to their homes. In other places ignorant people in our land have been of late fined and jailed for attempting to revive witchcraft.

Have we an earth habitation of the Devil? "Neighbors, shall we believe she is too old and weak to spread the horrid disease? Running no risk, shall we tear her in pieces, or turn the witch over to the authorities?" Thus queried gentry, husbandman, and blacksmith, saturated with the horrid superstition (p. 214).

Sheriff George Corwin, who arrested the accused, te

us, on the official return of an execution June 10, 1692, that he "hanged Bridgett Bishop until she was dead."

"Martha, only a pen scratch, and you can save your life."



REVEREND
NICHOLAS NOYES
LABELLING HIS
EIGHT DEAD PAR-
ISHIONERS "FIRE-
BRANDS OF HELL"

Courtesy of Silver, Burdett & Co.

"Never," replied this pious, refined woman, who was courage personified.

Refusing to recant, Martha was executed, her taking off being mainly through the testimony and unguarded talk of her aged husband, Giles Corey, who soon died a torturing death.

WITCHCRAFT

notes and comments. With such example in view, prelacy manufactures diligent interpretation for the unlearned instead of education of the masses.

The William Blackstone whose legal opinions our courts is said to have been related to Boston's reputed first citizen. "I am clear," said Sir Thomas Brown, the greatest physician of his land, "that the devil and two old women made the child sick. The fits are natural, but heightened by the operation with the malice of the witch." This famous physician, Sir Matthew Hopson, then a General, had these aged women examined.

Senile, iron-willed, conscience-bounded, Martha Corey was crushed to death with heavy stones; because, forsooth in answer to the question how he would be tried he refused to recognize the



MARTHA COREY REFUSING TO SIGN A RECANTATION

rected, "By God and my country." The custom of the application of torture for judicial reasons was based on rulings covering such contumacy. Giles Corey stands alone as the only recorded victim of this unrighteous law. Before his death, Corey's eyes were opened to the awful injustice he had done his wife in swearing away her life as a witch. The last audible words forced through his closing throat, were "Pile on the rocks."

William Proctor, the author's ancestor, bade adieu to his wife, Elizabeth Bassett Proctor, daughter of William Bassett, who was condemned to follow her husband a few weeks later, but escaped the death penalty, since the delusion had already spent its force.

As Proctor climbs Gallows Hill to the gibbet and mounts the scaffold, as firmly as the Scottish Lord Montrose went to his doom, his last words to friends, neighbors, and foes, ere shuffling off this mortal coil, are filled with love and forgiveness.

While this awful crime of the witchcraft persecution will ever stamp the locality with horror ineffaceable, "Whittier Land," encroached upon and in a measure glorified Witch Land. Included in the list of places for a Puritan Pilgrimage are Witch Hill, Salem, Rowley, and the old Roger Williams house, the latter the scene of many witch trials. The spirit of the Quaker poet brooding over the scene, though emphasizing the warped and shallow judgment of the times, has softened our condemnation of that which in the light of today seems unbelievable.

To whom should the sorely puzzled people of God living in New England turn for guidance, when this terrible witchcraft delusion disrupted their homes and gripped, as in a steel vise, both conscience and intellect? To their Bibles and their ministers was the only logical answer. The former was supposed to say, vehemently and in substance, "Stamp out, kill and destroy the infamy," and the clergy to a man upheld what they thought was a mandate. Then they

went forth with loins girded and in oneness of spirit to follow closely the bidding of Holy Writ—as they misread it, ignoring the Christ in their interpretation. At a glance, one sees in these scenes the trend of conditions surrounding clergyman, doctor, lawyer and layman, showing the decadence of man's reasoning power—scenes that need no explanation, homily, nor dissertation. Closer inspection brings but deeper abhorrence of this man-made calamity, as one realizes that each one, obsessed by the general delusion, looked upon his father, mother, brother, sister—even



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GILES COREY ARRAIGNED AS A WITCH.

husband or wife, as posing outwardly for saints, while inwardly possibly a hell-made devil's tabernacle, for the Evil One to sport and play in to the destruction of the body and soul of his fellows. This is the witchcraft of the seventeenth

century that bathed the world in blood and with terrific force severed the closest ties and tore heart-strings asunder.

"Quality" as well as commoners felt the inescapable clutch of this superstition, for none sat so high as to be above suspicion, condemnation, or even the scaffold. Not only was a relative of Governor



TRIAL OF WILLIAM BASSETT AND WIFE AND THEIR CONDEMNATION.

Bellingham—a woman of high standing and position—hanged, but Pastor Willard of the Old South Meeting House, among whose members were three of the six witchcraft judges, escaped death only by a narrow margin. Publicly accused of being a witch, it needed but an-

other testimony or two first to light and then to fan the fire beyond control. The halter would have abruptly closed the life work of the renowned clerical educator, who was at one time head of Harvard College.



"SHALL WE TEAR HER IN PIECES, NEIGHBORS?"

A bronze tablet gives the location of one building in which neighbor and friend accused neighbor and friend of being in league with the Devil. With the "light in them become darkness," they sent the victims to the gallows, their consciences being like that of a Spanish king who believed that in burning heretics he was doing God service.

Yet were not these phenomena, whether in Spain or New England, what the Master Himself foresaw and prophesied? It was witchcraft that helped to send the Great Teacher to the cross, for did they not say "He hath a devil?" Did they not charge Him with healing and casting out devils in the name of Beelzebub, the prince of devils?

Slipping a halter over the hoary head of age, to save kin and neighbor from contamination with the curse-

blight of witchcraft, was deemed a righteous and meritorious act. It was ever reckoned a positive aid to Deity in stamping out what was thought to be an awful menace to body and soul.

The aftermath of witch days shows that Captain John Alden, son of John and Priscilla Alden, lived on Alden Street, Boston, and during the run of the dreadful delusion was denounced by young and old in the manner drawn by the artist.* Alden was also accused of tormenting people he had never seen. "Dragged before the court at Salem, returned to Boston, jailed for fifteen weeks," is the police court record. In fact he was hidden by his relatives at Duxbury, in clear-minded Pilgrim Land, until the superstition subsided. This jailing of a prominent citizen set the Old Colony town in an uproar, and linked Plymouth closely with that terrible seventeenth century orgy of unreason that had so startlingly flared forth in Boston and Salem Village (South Danvers).

The surprising fact is that Plymouth, in the face of world-wide superstition and within fifty or sixty miles of Boston and Salem, was immune to this particular grade of death-fever.

The killing of his fellows as witches never smirched the conscience of the true-hearted, well-balanced Pilgrim.

These Free Churchmen had been too well mentally fortified, while in Holland, whence the spectre of witchcraft had been banished. Hence they were able to resist the infection when amid new surroundings. It has been said that Plymouth, in a measure removed from centers like Boston and Salem, through its very isolation, escaped the witch-



© Charles Scribner's Sons
"AWAY WITH YE OR I'LL
CURSE YE!"

craft delusion; but better sense and a knowledge of history and the literature of Holland would furnish correct answers. The study of comparative religion also teaches us that the old gods of one cult become the devils of another, while the sinister fairies of an age are transformed into the witches and imps of a later one. John Robinson taught that religion, according as it is used, is responsible for the greatest known good and the most terrible evils in human history. Seen in the light of Biblical science and history, the outbreak of witchcraft in New England was, in the case of the clergy, one of the worst examples of misreading Holy Scripture ever known, and quite equal to anything of which the system centralized in Rome has been guilty.

THE WITCH'S DAUGHTER

For Mabel Martin sat apart,
And let the hay mow's shadow fall
Upon the loveliest face of all.

She sat apart as one forbid,
Who knew that none would condescend
To own the Witch-wife's child a friend.

The seasons scarce had gone their round,
Since curious thousands thronged to see
Her mother on the gallows tree.

* * * * *

They went up to their homes that day,
As men and Christians justified,
God willed it, and the wretch had died!

* * * * *

"Good neighbors, mine," he sternly said,
"This passes harmless mirth or jest,
I brook no insult to my guest."

* * * * *

None dared withstand him to his face,
But one sly maiden spake aside,
"The little witch is evil-eyed!"

WITCHCRAFT

Her mother only killed a cow
Or witched a churn or dairy pan
But she, forsooth, must charm a

"Henceforth she stands no more
You know what Esek Harden is
He brooks no wrong to him nor

* * * *

O, pleasantly the Harvest moon
Between the shadow of the mow
Looked on them through the gr

On Mabel's curls of golden hair,
On Esek's shaggy strength it fell
And the wind whispered, "It is

Thus does the poet clasp hands with
healing the dreadful mind-craze, that con-
stant horror and grief New England
country. On glorious hill top and in fe-
thinking marred the most charming pro-
tenderest ties; proving again and once
was vile."

The year 1693 saw the last execu-
tion in the United States, though in Eng-
land of life for this subjective insanity exten-
sive. George II, in 1736, the statute which
on England's record was obliterated.
given one of the thousand proofs of the
Christianity. Diseased fancy gave way to
creative imagination, and even in the
record of the progress of civilization
psychology was illustrated—"Fancy is the
imagination is the servant of reason."

"Who turned in Salem's dreary
Her worn old Bible o'er and o'er
When her dim eyes could read

Royalty gave that first Royal Governor of New England, Sir William Phips, a burial of note.

Here was manifested a pronounced change from infancy in a logging camp at outpost Pemaquid to a London funeral calling for the unique quaintly phrased and oddly engraved card of admission to participate in the obsequies and view the corpse of Sir William Phips. (See page 221.)

The Mather Dynasty left a Puritan imprint on New England that it will take generations to efface, Plymouth sharing richly in the record. The Mathers frequently swayed a people that no ordinary mind could control.

Thus solemnly, and doubtless after much literary striving, the seventeenth century jingler of rhymes, in an epitaph, treated of the house of Mather. After extolling Cotton, the full blown product, and belittling Samuel, the latest scion of the quartette of Puritan divines, it consigns to oblivion the later heirs and assigns. Nevertheless, some of us have known of descendants of this honored name who were celebrities, if not notorieties. The fact that at the evacuation of Boston they fled on one of those hundred and seventy-six ships to Halifax, and the farther fact that the progeny was more female than male, conserved the record and the names.

Under this stone lies Richard Mather,
Who had a son greater than his father,
And eke a grandson more famous than either,
But the next generation failed—rather.*

* Reverend Richard Mather, of Dorchester, was the founder of the line in America. His second wife had been the second wife of the Reverend John Cotton, and his son, Increase Mather, married Mary Cotton, his stepsister. Increase married secondly the daughter of Captain Thomas Lake, widow of the Reverend John Cotton of Hampton, nephew of Mather's first wife. Of the daughters of Increase, Maria married Bartholomew Green and Richard Fifield; Elizabeth married William Greenough and Josiah Byles; Sarah married the Reverend Nehemiah Walter; Abigail married Newcomb Blake and the Reverend John White; Hannah married John Oliver; and Jerusha married Peter Oliver. Reverend Cotton Mather married first Abigail, daughter of John Phillips, of Charlestown; secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. John Clark, widow of Richard Hubbard; thirdly, Lydia, daughter of the Reverend Samuel Lee and widow of John George.

Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Co.

In many cases Cotton Mather claimed to be a conqueror of the indwelling witch-devil. Mather's "Memorable Providences" proved to his own satisfaction several points in "divinity" (1) that witches exist; (2) how they signify



GOODY MARTIN THE WITCH AND HER BEWITCHING DAUGHTER MABEL.

their presence, and (3) how to combat witchcraft. Prayer was his sovereign remedy. With extreme unction and exhaustive vocabulary, he talked it over with the Lord and the evil-possessed victim, and claimed to drive out the obsessing forces, although there is no record of these being transferred into his neighbor's swine and dashing down a "steep cliff into the sea."

A modern psychologist or physician to the insane, even though facing the awful charge of being a "rationalist," could understand the gospels and their record of human and bestial phenomena better than Cotton Mather. This

theologian forged ahead with the light he had, whatever the outcome. He had in full measure qualities that overtop mediocrity, but most certainly he showed the defects of his character. He was ambitious and opinionated; hence, forceful. He was painstaking and accurate, even to microscopic minuteness, according to his own interpretation of events. One can forgive his quick temper and blunt manner as directness of thought forcibly expressed and even hotly given. Such partisanship influences the masses at the time, clears later investigations and judgments, and adds laurels to any cause, good or evil. Mather saw special judgments induced by special transgressions and suggested by special misfortunes. Let us whisper it—he was a firm believer in ghosts. These, through visions, as he thought, led him to bury one denominational hatchet when he preached in the Baptist church from the text “Good Men United.” Mather was stirred to the depths over the outbreak of witchcraft. To steer his craft to the right haven was his heartfelt, earnest desire, but a false beacon instead of the warning lighthouse sadly wrecked the scholar’s judgment.

Cotton Mather’s brain absorbed the “poisoned pen’s” misconception of the Creator, which is completely at variance with the Christ spirit. In Mather’s case, it was an absorption so thorough as to cause him when well along in years to chronicle one cardinal point of the Puritan faith, speaking of “the delight saved souls would enjoy in gazing o’er heaven’s battlements, watching the writhing forms of the lost, forever aflame in excruciating agony, yet never consumed.”

Cotton Mather did not stand alone in this view. Jonathan Edwards, whose female descendants, it is claimed, mothered some of the crowned heads of Europe, had the same inconceivable thoughts about the wicked departed. Antichrist, according to Cotton Mather, was “the devil’s oldest son,” for he did not seem to know or recognize the very fierce manifestation of Antichrist in the persecution of other

venomous crew, a spiteful town, and a poisoned country." There was no halfway stopping-post with this Puritan minister, when he reached high pressure speed on life's race to Eternity.

Written about from all possible angles by many critics, Cotton Mather's defects do but prove his humanity. No man could have been as active as he without causing friction, and even animosity, along the pathway he blazed in his strenuous passage through life. Seventy public sermons, and half as many private discourses a year was his usual quota, and the preparation of a Mather sermon was no ordinary task, both in matter and length, in those days. Read sermons were then under ban and the slightest aroma of plagiarism was reckoned as a pulpit sin. No volumes of ready-made sermons or friendly books for the lazy homilist existed. One or two afternoons a week were given to prayer and exhortation, while making pastoral calls.

Mather's fasts aggregated sixty a year, and his nights of vigil full twenty. He spent sometimes an entire day on his knees in prayer in his closet, with a list of names before him, supplicating God for spiritual blessings for these members of his flock. Ever anxious to do for others, his dying exhortation to his son, who asked for a guiding motto through life, was "Remember that one word, 'fructuosus'." Mather originated more than twenty benevolent societies, and undertook to Christianize the negroes. At one period he bore the entire cost of an experimental smallpox inoculation, beside submitting his son to the ordeal, though neighbors threatened his life for the act. The medical profession condemned him in his effort to curb frightfully prevalent smallpox which frequently ran unbroken in its devastating career. Thousands met death from this disease. Mather wrote and published three hundred and eighty-two pamphlets and books. He was at one time in voluminous correspondence with more than fifty learned Europeans, and this in the days

when laborious handwriting ate voraciously into each twenty-four hours. Much of Mather's literary work was done by flickering candlelight. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and received the degree of Divinity from the University of Glasgow. With such self-elected tasks awaiting his waking moments, it is little wonder his callers faced the wall-hung command "Be Short."

The rhymester of the day epitomizes the life of that prominent divine, Richard, grandfather of Cotton Mather, who was the first of the Mather line born in New England and was later pastor of the Dorchester church. His preaching without a surplice gave rise to the well-known remark of one of the elect (?) "What? Preach fifteen years without a surplice! I would rather have heard of thy——"

"Sacred to God his servant Richard Mather,
Sons like him, good and great, did call him father,
Hard to discern a difference in degree,
'Twixt his bright learning and high piety.
Short time his sleeping dust lies covered down,
So can't his soul or his deserved renown.
From's birth six lustres and a jubilee
To his repose; but laboured hard in thee,
O Dorchester! four more than thirty years
His sacred dust with thee thine honour rears."

"Third in New England's Dorchester
Was this ordained minister.
Second to none for fruitfulness,
Abilities, and usefulness.

"Divine his charms, years seven times seven,
Wise to win souls from earth to heaven;
Prophet's reward he gains above,
But great's our loss by his remove."

"In his Publick Ministry in Dorchester he went over the Book of *Genesis* to chap. xxxviii; *Psalm* xvi; The whole Book of the Prophet *Zechariah*; *Matthew's Gospel*, to chap. xviii; 1 *Epistle to Thess.* chap. v;

and the whole Second Epistle of Peter,—his notes whereon he reviewed and transcribed for the press, not many years before his decease. Also he was much exercised in answering many practical Cases of Conscience and in Polemical, especially Disciplinary, Discourses."



COTTON MATHER

Richard Mather's second wife was the widow of John Cotton of Hampden, a nephew of his first wife, minister of St. Botolph's and later minister of the First Church. His son, Increase, father of Cotton, courted and acquired his rarely accomplished stepsister, Mary Cotton, in marriage. The son, Cotton, was later to stir New England to its very center and Olde England to

a lesser degree with his writings and anathemas, for he was trained by those on both sides of his illustrious family tree. The Quaker poet thus depicts in verse the controversy between the Mather divine and the Boston clothier:

"In the solemn days of old

Two men met in Boston town,
One a tradesman frank and bold
One a preacher of renown.

Cried the last, in bitter tone,
"Poisoner of the wells of truth!
Satan's hireling, thou hast sown
With his tares the heart of youth!"

Spake the simple tradesman then;
"God be judge 'twixt thou and I;
All thou knowest of truth hath been
Unto men like thee a lie."

* * *

Of your spectral puppet play
I have traced the cunning wires;
Come what will, I needs must say,
God is true, and ye are liars."

When the thought of man is free,
Error Fears its lightest tones;
So the priest cried, "Sadducee!"
And the people took up stones.

In the ancient burying-ground,
Side by side, the twain now lie,—
One with humble grassy mound,
One with marbles pale and high"

On February 26, 1728, the *New England Weekly Journal*, in commenting on Cotton Mather's death says:

"He was, perhaps, the principal Ornament of this Country, and the greatest Scholar that ever was bred in it. But, besides his unusual learning, his exalted Piety and extensive Charity, his entertaining Wit, and singular Goodness of temper recommended him to all that were Judges of real and distinguished merit."

Cotton Mather encroached on no other man's niche in that temple of fame reared by the Puritans in America, veneered with pedantry, vanity, and subservient following, though it be. Posterity places against his name in colonial annals an even balance of praise and blame.

Yes, Cotton Mather, some two hundred years and more after thou last penned the request "To bee Returned Unto C. Mather"—showing deep knowledge of the invidious ways of the book-borrower—posterity turns backward the page, and comments in wonder and admiration on the colony's most erudite scholar, the owner of the colony's most extensive library in the New England of that day. Was it much learning that is, too much of one sort, that made thee "mad" during the witchcraft delusion?

Cotton Mather was a frequent visitor to Plymouth, and wrote and often talked to its people.

No matters of moment in the colonies were embarked on without indorsement of the clergy, who often ruled in Puritan politics with an iron rod. It is true that Free

Churchmanship, separated from civic or political authority, never produced men of the mind and act which State Churchmanship generated. How little perhaps any of these old worthies realized, as they painstakingly scrawled "signatories," that the scrawlings would live for centuries! Based on their slavishly literal interpretations of the Bible, there was no escaping conclusions which silenced common sense. Desperate efforts were made to wriggle out from under its supposititiously awful commands, and swing the elect about face. Biblical commands concerning the witch—purely obsolete or imaginary when read in the light of the Christ saying—were cited, and the lives of relatives and neighbors paid the penalty.



THE JOHN COTTON CHAPEL, ERECTED IN BOSTON, ENGLAND, IN HONOR OF REV. JOHN COTTON.

The wave of Indian onslaught in 1689 reached Dover, New Hampshire, July 7, and caught and killed Major Waldron, then eighty years old, whose doom was prophesied years before by the Quaker women whom he had heartlessly horse-whipped.

The fact that Major Waldron played false with the Indian in King Philip's War in 1676, thirteen years before, furnishes an illustration of primitive man all over the world, whether Indian, Oriental, or nominal Christian. In the

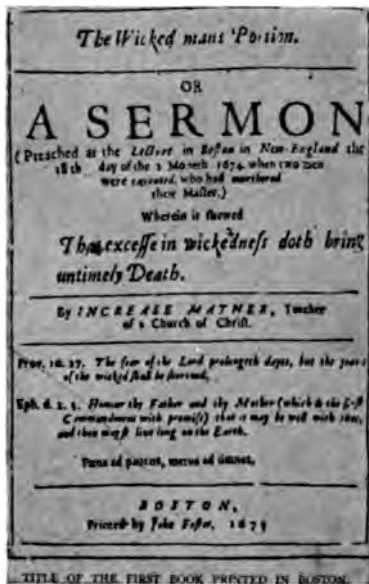
Magnalia Christi Americana :
OR, THE
Ecclesiastical History
OF
NEW-ENGLAND,
FROM
Its First Planting in the Year 1620. unto the Year
of our LORD, 1698.

In Seven BOOKS.

- I. Antiquities : In Seven Chapters. With an Appendix.
- II. Containing the Lives of the Governours, and Names of the Magistrates of *New-England* : In Thirteen Chapters. With an Appendix.
- III. The Lives of Sixty Famous Divines, by whose Ministry the Churches of *New-England* have been Planted and Continued.
- IV. An Account of the University of *Cambridge* in *New-England* ; in Two Parts. The First contains the Laws, the Benefactors, and Vicissitudes of *Harvard College* ; with Remarks upon it. The Second Part contains the Lives of some Eminent Persons Educated in it.
- V. Acts and Monuments of the Faith and Order in the Churches of *New-England*, passed in their Synods ; with Historical Remarks upon those Venerable Assemblies ; and a great Variety of Church-Cases occurring, and resolved by the Synods of those Churches : In Four Parts.
- VI. A Faithful Record of many Illustrious, Wonderful Providences, both of Mercies and Judgments, on divers Persons in *New-England* : In Eight Chapters.
- VII. *The Wars of the Lord*. Being an History of the Manifold Afflictions and Disturbances of the Churches in *New-England*, from their Various Adversaries, and the Wonderful Methods and Mercies of God in their Deliverance : In Six Chapters : To which is subjoined, An Appendix of Remarkable Occurrences which *New-England* had in the Wars with the *Indian* Salvages, from the Year 1688, to the Year 1698.

By the Reverend and Learned COTTON MATHER, M. A.
And Pastor of the North Church in *Boston, New-England*.

L O N D O N :
Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, at the Bible and Three
Crowns in Cheapside. MDCCII.



ONE OF INCREASE MATHER'S BOOKS.

his table and forced the family to cook food, then, one by one, they perpetrated horrid acts of cruelty, each one to their savage minds cancelling some old individual or tribal debt of the past. The cutting off of his nose, ears, hand, foot, with slashes across the breast, in time sapped the heart's blood of the old Indian fighter and Waldron ceased to breathe. They had cancelled their account. The Indian no more forgot an act of cruelty than an act of kindness.

The reason why Plymouth and the Pilgrims were never visited by the

mock battle instigated by Waldron he had persuaded two hundred Indians to fire off their muskets. He then seized his victims, shipping them to Boston, where some were hanged and others sold into slavery. The red men judged Christianity by the fruits which they themselves gathered. They were not church historians.

Fearing to face the old warrior, two Indian squaws sought shelter in his home. At midnight these women opened the door and the incoming savages, after overpowering the mighty Major, placed him in a chair at



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THE DEATH OF MAJOR WALDRON.



THE MATHER DYNASTY

THUS WAS THE "MATHER DYNASTY" GRAVE-EPITAPHED TO THE WORLD BY A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY POET.



C. Mather

"Under this stone lies Richard Mather
Who had a son greater than his father;
And eke a grandson more famous than either;
But the next generation failed—rather."

witchcraft delusion or troubled with this devilish superstition which has been responsible for possibly a million judicial murders in Europe, and which left a stain on the reputation of the Puritans, is plain to anyone who knows the social condition and background of things and the spiritual atmosphere in Leyden, while the Pilgrim Fathers lived there, from 1609 to 1620. In the Dutch Republic books had already been written and widely circulated which exposed the groundlessness of this relic of the days of the savage and cave man.

The intellect of the Netherlanders had been unshackled from this superstition long before intellect in the British Isles had been set free. Bathed in this atmosphere of mental freedom, it would have been an anachronism for the Plymouth men to have reverted to the ancient delusion.

The Puritans on the contrary were like their contemporaries in the Old Country. There was no greater subjective victim to the witchcraft delusion than James I of England, who wrote a book against the anti-witchcraft argument of Reginald Scott of 1584. Even as late as the eighteenth century, John Wesley declared that the denial of witchcraft was tantamount to repudiating the truth of the Divine Word. Nevertheless, despite stereotyped after-dinner rhetoric in America, the cheap moving-picture shows, and the belief still cherished among exceedingly "liberal" thinkers—liberal even beyond the boundaries of both fact and truth—and even the antiquated political partisanship that lingers below Mason and Dixon's line, the American Puritans never burned or cremated a witch, though they hanged some, giving rise to family feuds, of which traces are found even today.

CHAPTER VI

LAWS—CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG—FRENCH ARMADA DESTROYED—DEPOR- TATION OF ACADIANS

TO choose between saving his seven children from the Indians' scalping knife, or his wife and infant of but two days from capture, was Thomas Dustin's dilemma. One reads in sequence the harrowing Dustin tragedy, and the story of this courageous woman's act in that night of death on the little Merrimac Island.

In 1697, when Indians attacked Haverhill and its environs, Hannah Dustin's experience stirred even the most pacific of pacifist colonists to intense effort against all redskins.

This woman was captured, abused, her infant killed, and with the nurse and Samuel Leonard, a little boy previously taken by Indians, placed by the savages on what is now called Dustin Island, on the Merrimac, at its junction with the Contoocook stream. She instructed the lad to have their captors show him how to kill and scalp, and the little fellow in turn explained to Mrs. Dustin the harrowing process. At midnight this intrepid woman tomahawked the ten Indian guards and scuttled all the canoes but one. The ever-assertive motherhood instinct in her allowed the squaw with her babe to escape, though in this act, she risked recapture and unnamed torture. After embarking, still



MONUMENT TO HAN-
NAH DUSTIN IN HAV-
ERHILL.

turning with her wrongs, Mrs. Dustin, with rare Benjamin Church courage, though she knew the Indian woman would quickly summon aid, paddled back to the camp.

There she scalped the ten dead Indians, and then rushed off into the stream with Mary Neff, Samuel Leonard, and her cargo of blood-matted hair and skin and floated down the Merimac, reaching home to the untold joy and amazement of her family, friends and the entire town.* The thrilling tale of her heroism, in sending her husband away with the children, and the gory proofs of her exploits, proved an immense incentive in fighting Indians, and war enlistments notably increased.

Some of the written laws of Plymouth well illustrate the daily lives of its unique people. Dating back to 1642 one reads that:

"William Nelson be hyred to reap the cowes this yeare at the same wages he had last year which is 50 bushells of Indian corne"; and that he in charge of the weir who draw and deliver the herring . . . be payd her in money or corn at Harvest at such rate as it doth then passe at from man to man."

* The price for Indian scalps varied, but the advertised rates, when the redman became viciously murderous, \$134 for a man, only four dollars less for a boy (a compliment to youthful prowess), and a meagre \$50 for a squaw.



FLIGHT OF THE LITTLE FAMILY.



THE MOTHER KILLING THE TEN INDIANS.



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THE DUSTIN TRAGEDY.

Later we note:

"That many horses are rid and driven threw the Towne by strangers . . . in a disorderly way," a committee be appointed "to take notice of such haves as are soe carryed threw the Towne and are hereby impowered to examine such strangers whether they have a passe for them . . . and if not to seize on them and forthwith to bring them before some of the magistrats of this jurisdiction for tryal";

"That the owners of such cattle or horses shall pay for every neat beast two shillings and for every horse kind five shillings." It was also "ordered by the Towne that the officials of the Towne be Impowered to Call such younge men and others as live Idlely and disorderly to an account for theire mispending theire time in ordinaryes."

In 1646 non-attendance at Town Meeting called for a fine, and it is recorded that for the convenience of the Governor, possibly because of sickness, on at least one occasion the meeting was held at the Governor's house.

In 1649 community land was given to those townsmen who had none "to use as long as they please or their heir after them but not to make sale thereof if they depart the towne but surrender them upp unto the towne agayne at their departure."

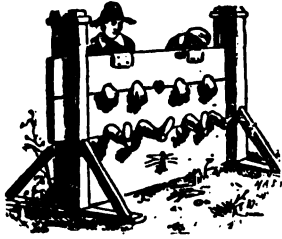
It was also decreed that all men "use their best discretion and endeavors that the poor may bee comfortable provided for by contriving and setting them in such ways and courses as may most probably conduce thereunto and also to see yt the provisions of the poor bee not unessessarily Imbezzeled, misspent and made away with in summer season before the winter and times of hard things come and for such poore as are aged and decrippped as they cannot work."

It was voted in 1650 "to pay fifteen shillings to every one who should bring in the head or skin of a wolf, and that any Indian who would kill an old wolf should receive two coats and for a young wolf an axe or hatchet."

"Require any that shall Receive any stranger soe as to entertaine them in theire house to give cecuritie unto them to save the Towne harmless from any damage that may

acrew unto them by their entertainment of such as afore-said."

To travel on the Sabbath and dodge pillory or whipping post required a passport ticket-of-leave, proving that the



THE STOCKS.



READING THE SCOLD INTO THE FLOOD.

journey was one of necessity. For the few Pilgrims and Puritans who slid and for infraction of the so-called Blue Laws, that awakened and steered the Fathers' consciences aright, punishment followed close upon cleanliness and godliness, for prompt chastening was found by the thrifty Pilgrim to reduce court and jail expenses.

The bilboes then in common use came from Spain. The Armada carried thousands of them, the Spaniard fully expecting to shackle whole platoons of captured Englishmen and populate Spain with British slaves.

Lower caste ever chuckled when heckling upper caste, which revelled in "bushes of vanity." Oiled, crinkled, and coddled Royalists gave the Roundhead Puritan many an



"PLUG HIM AGAIN, HEZY; TOWSER, DON'T BITE; IT MAY PIZEN YE!"



A LOW-DOWN CRIME EVIDENTLY CALLED FOR A LOWLY POSTURE.

exasperating quarter hour. In a generation when the powdered wig was the distinguishing mark of blue blood or of financial supremacy, Chief Justice Samuel Sewall furnished an example of the democratic spirit of the times,



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A HORRIBLE EXAMPLE TO SEDATE MATRON AND TOWN TATTLER.

when he called the wig "an abomination" to the straight-laced Puritan.

Grandames and grandsires strolled down the street swollen with curiosity to know which neighbor had fallen by the way. Whisper it lightly, sometimes beholders were later star actors in eighteenth century moving pictures of their times.

"Headed straight for hell is the poor devil. Unable to save his soul, we will roundly punish the wanton while within reach," said the people. An outdoor iron cage enclosure occasionally took its place, alternating with the usual punishment of a Wanton-Gospeller, which was that of being compelled to stand in public on a stool.

"Stand and face the villagers, good-dame, with thy formerly tattled name so fastened about thy neck, that he who runs may read what thy bridled tongue cannot garulously proclaim," was the official command.

White man and Indian, childhood and infancy, alike gloated over the discomfiture of the fair one.

Let us say in all fairness that this English invention was one form of a man's and often of a woman's punishment for making tart reply to a brutal husband or a harsh magistrate.

Accompanying the brusque washing out of her sins, the scold was an enforced listener to public and sonorous reading of her shortcomings, by an officer of the court. An ever-present remedy for evildoers was this ducking pond, after ice had been broken in the spring. Man-scoolds—and it seems fair to assume they equalled in number the fairer sex, if the genus of that day was like the present—frequently escaped this rasping humiliation, but suffered whippings on the bare back or other equally annoying aids to goodness. Other inexpensive punishments, which required neither food, shelter, nor jail, kept Pilgrim and Puritan in line with that part of Holy Writ which is older than the New Testament.

No small part of the punishment attending a sentence to the pillory and stocks was bombardment by the street urchins with decayed fruit, ancient eggs and forceful invective hurled at



PENITENTIAL THOUGHTS.



NOT "WHY DID I DO IT?" BUT
"WHY WAS I FOUND OUT?"

the helpless, undignified culprit. Even dogs barked disdainfully at the abashed and tortured victim, as these Old World customs were transferred to the New.

In ducking a scold—only men being in this little company of punishers—penalty, work, and conviviality clasped hands in the new land. To be head-down in the stocks evidently fitted some especially low-down misdemeanor.



BOTH FATHER AND LAD GAZED IN AWE WHEN THE VILLAGE MAGNATE CLATTERED DOWN THE STREET.

That instrument of torture, a wooden horse, its saddle shaped like that of a razor-back hog, was known locally, where it was invented, as a "Mary Price," a New Eng-

land but much milder version of that horror of the Inquisition, the "Iron Virgin," such as one sees in Nuremberg. "Mary Price" was its first victim. In days when to be remembered was a prize of desire it doubtless lightened the severity of the sentence for Mary to know that long after her body had moldered back to earth, memory would probably garland, if it did not revere her name.

Poet, novelist, dramatist, and humorist need look no farther for subject matter than the New England primer, studied in unison and in sing-song style by blue denim-frocked pupils in the old red schoolhouse under the lee of the hill. Conned by the light of log fire, or drilled into the ears of youth in hay, potato field, or truck garden, were the vagaries of this New England Primer. For over one hundred years this was the only juvenile book published in New England.* Crammed with what to us is pious doggerel and embellished with woodcuts of grotesque outline, it had an enormous circulation and vied in popularity with Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom." This gruesome tale of Hell was written by Michael Wigglesworth, that Malden

* Page 252.

CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG

minister who shepherded and at times hysterics his parishioners, young and old. In 1705, on which latter date the Reverend departed this life to learn better.

*I remain yr Faithful friend
& fellow watchman in
Michael Wigglesworth*

THUS SIGNATURED THE AUTHOR OF THE
OF DOOM."

"When God's fierce ire kindleth fire, and vengeance
With piles of wood and brimstone flood that none

Michael Wigglesworth preached from hell-flaming verse. He voiced with garments what some imagine was John Calvin's destination, that is, the doom to perdition of the human race, except as God might elect "raggs of work," as good deeds were of no avail, called, could save no one, when relied upon as sheet anchor of the soul. Few, however, have read John Calvin's works thoroughly take this view of but a small minority of the human race. Calvin's teaching of the impregnable bulwark of the opposite extreme notion of Rome—no salvation outside the "true" church, that is, "ours"—which was

The usual method of judging Calvinism is indeed any heroic or outstanding figures gained from the viewpoint of today. It is a reversal of common sense and has in its history injustice and even falsehood. We must remember that it was already in the world—law, custom, and what reformers in every age have fought against. The most fiery utterances of Calvinism are very mild copies of what Rome had said for a thousand years.

THE PILGRIMS AND PURITANS

John Mather at times suffered what are the tortures of the damned" in fear that "the Elect." As late as the middle of the century "filthy rags of work" were viewed as the only "dainties" of these same "Elect" Puritans. As most uncertain props and aids to gain the grace, or an even vanishing view of the heaven. Men were so far governed by bigotry that they had little place in real religion—that they usually fell into the bottomless pit some of these truly unselfish, "pious" conception, unrighteous workers for the benefit of their fellows. Such reformers had not in themselves been anointed with the ointment of saving grace. The most rigid "Hard Shell" believed in his own righteousness that in some indescribable, miraculous way—by a narrow gauge—relatives and close friends could at the last moment bridge the awful chasm and cross the threshold as "elect," saved indeed, "yet so as by the word, men were better than their creed, and their faith overcame logic. Probably, as a direct result of their Puritanical inheritance and training, they struck at the very quality and essence, putting away the symbols of religion. Their hearts were greater than tradition, or mere words, and they broke logic from false premises.

1686 New England seems to have reached a turning point in the amusement field. The rural sports of their forefathers broke through all barriers raised by the shell of religion falsely so called. The shell of wrong was broken, releasing the blessings of healthy recreation. Heredity overcame environment. It was in their

the front rank were men who held the van line firm in the New England in thought and deed in early colonial days.

Fifty-two true fathers of our nation, their names arising from their graves for our inspiration, bringing with them the

THE FIFTY-TWO LEADERS WHO IN FATHERING NEW
ENGLAND BUILT GREATER THAN THEY PLANNED







Simon Bradstreet Richard Saltmarsh



Wm Coddington

William Pynchon

John Wheelwright William Baxton

Thomas Malford



Jo: Haynes John Wintrop
Geo: Johnson

Samuel Mavricke





force, fire and the patriotism of their iron natures! Are they proud of their descendants?

The twoscore and twelve aided in making the twin sea-bordered colonies of the Olde Baye State what they are today.

Caricatures often delineate correctly, and as there seems to be no other portrait extant of the one Harvard incorporator, Hugh Peter, who physically lost his head, it may be assumed that this is a fairly correct likeness of the curly-haired gentleman, whose close companion is pictured by his defamers as King Lucifer. None questioned the domine's ability in the field of windy exhortations.

In a world that looked askance upon plagiarism, the cartoonist deliberately copied in the effigy of Hugh Peter this famous cartoon of Martin Luther.

These flashlights from a dead past illuminate with their brighter glow a living present.

The lives lived by our fathers prior to and during the Revolution were in times long before steam cars, electric lights, telegraphs and telephones had disrupted and left



HUGH PETERS, ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF HARVARD COLLEGE WHO LOST HIS HEAD BY PLOTTING AGAINST THE THRONE. THE CARTOONIST EVIDENTLY PLAGIARIZED BY COPYING THE WELL-KNOWN LUTHER CARTOON.

behind the good, old-fashioned era, when a "one hoss shay" was the envy of the town and men worth three thousand dollars ranked with envious fellow citizens among the seven wonders. There were days in New England's history when



DAME'S SCHOOL WHERE KITCHEN MECHANICS SANDWICHED THE THREE R'S. "TOE THE FLOOR CRACK, ZEIKEL."

the single mechanic in the entire colony was pointed out as a marvel, because he earned one dollar a day. Nevertheless, whether it was across the Potomac or the Charles, or whether said in jest or statistics, a dollar went farther in those days.

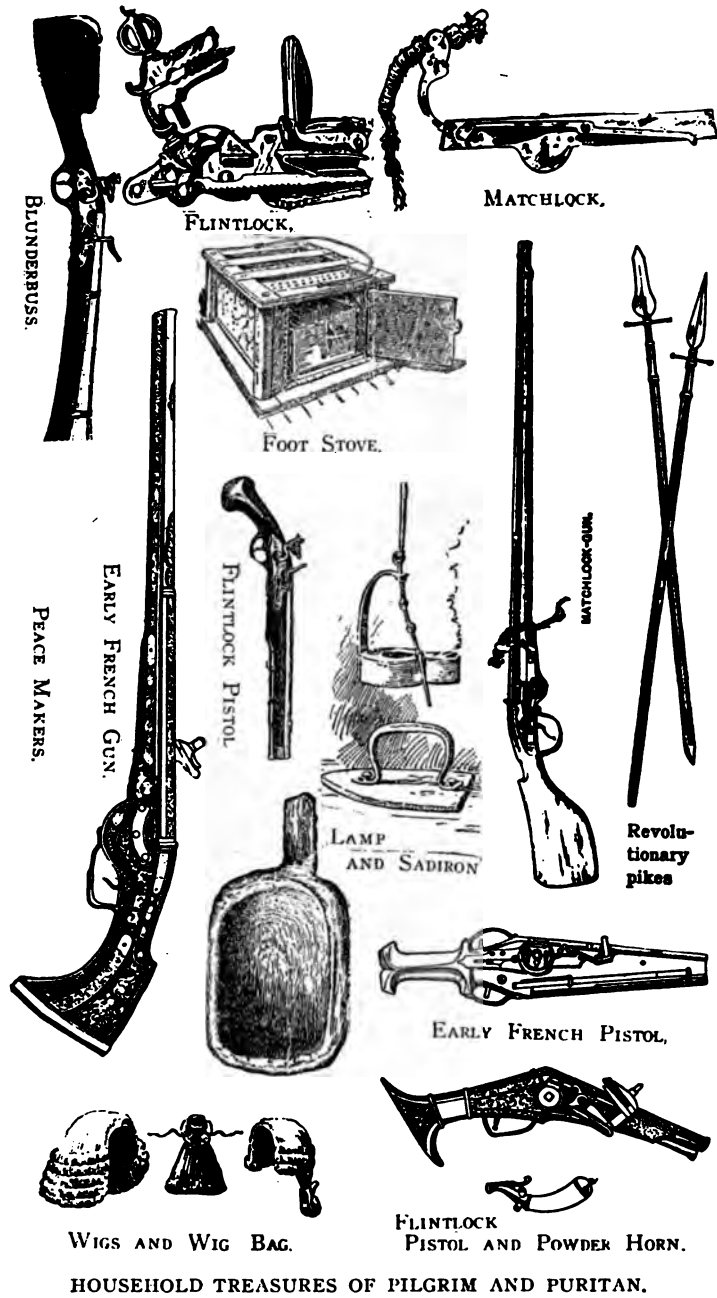
The Indian learned one thing very early in the war game, and a son of the forest never forgets. In present-day vernacular, he would have said, "It is bad policy to disturb sleeping dogs, when the dogs are Englishmen."

As the country grew, many a courtship was started over the spinning-wheel, many a canoe floated down hair-raising rapids, as the pioneer voyagers peered, firelock in hand, into fringing thickets, which too often were packed with ambuscading Indians.

The primness of colonial life is clearly illustrated in the century we have learned to love.



ESSENTIALS TO COMFORTABLE COLONIAL LIVING.





A SPELLING BEE.



THE COUNTRY SCHOOL OF EARLY
TIMES.



THE PERUKED PEDAGOG.



A PEEP AT THE SCHOOL BOY OF LONG
AGO AT HIS STUDIES AND AT PLAY.

The angularity of the Pilgrims as compared with modern crookedness or curves was pronounced both in youth and age.

Pedagogy in its application to domestic science among the early colonists combined brain development with dinner

preparation. Later, the teacher, awe-inspiring, peruked, and bespectacled, came upon the stage.

With the colony barren of newspapers, it is fair to assume that these booklets were well thumbed out of existence. Laymen rushed into print then as in our day, often to the confusion of the reader.

This was the Town Talk Raid of Plymouth's Tithing Man in 1663 when he caught some of the "slippers," as tipplers and cardplayers on the Holy Sabbath. Transfixed with horror at the iniquity, Tithing Man immediately arrested the ungodly who were crooking elbows in the Public Tap.

Jingles jarred a trifle with the license even of the past but shone bravely forth in these lines, as men matched issues on winter evenings before the flaring log fires.

"We came here naked as we were born and tusseled for a 'livin' '
And prayed to God and toughed it out, and then set up 'Thanksgivin'."

The memorizing of Holy Scripture whiled away many a dark hour.



SCHOOL COMMITTEE TRYING OUT BOTH TEACHER AND PUPILS.

In Adam's fall We sinned all.		As runs the Glas. Man's life doth pass.	
Thy life to mend, God's Book at- tend.		My book and Heart Shall never part.	
The Cat doth play, And after slay.		Job feels the rod, Yet blesses God.	
A Dog will bite A thief at night.		Proud Korah's troop Was swallowed up.	
The Eagle's flight Is out of sight.		The Lion bold The Lamb doth hold.	
The idle Fool Is whipped at school.		The Moon gives light In time of night.	
Nightingales sing In time of spring.		Time cuts down all, Both great and small.	
The royal Oak, it was the tree That saved his royal majesty.		Uriah's beaute- ous wife Made David seek his life.	
Peter denies His Lord, and cries.		Whales in the sea God's voice obey.	
Queen Esther comes in royal state, To save the Jews from dismal fate.		Xerxes the Great did die, And so must you and I.	
Rachel doth mourn For her first-born.		Youth forward slips— Death soonest nips.	
Samuel anoints Whom God ap- points.		Zaccheus, he Did climb the tree, His Lord to see.	

THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER—FOR A CENTURY NEW ENGLAND'S
"BOOK OF KNOWLEDGE."

The doggerel of the hour as well as the nobler literature also crossed the Atlantic and in dulcet or in cracked harmony eased or brightened the Pilgrim lot. "Our Forefathers' Song," as it was nasalized in 1650, fortunately for those who

CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG

appreciate old times, has come down
mouth from one grandame to another, and
and homely detail the environment of the

"The place where we live is a wilderness wood,
Where grass is much wanted that's fruitful and good;
Our mountains and hills and our valleys below
Are commonly covered with frost and with snow;
And when the northwest wind with violence blows
Every man pulls his cap over his nose.
But if any so hardy and will it withstand
He forfeits a finger, a foot or a hand.
Our clothes we brought with us are apt to be torn
They need to be clouted soon after they are worn;

But clouting our garments they hinder
Clouts double are warmer than single
If fresh meat he wanted to fill up the dish
We have carrots and turnips whenever
And if ever a mind for a delicate dish
We go to the clam bank, and there we catch
For pottage and puddings and custards
Our pumpkins and parsnips are common
We have pumpkin at morning and pump
Were it not for Pumpkin we should be



© Charles S.

THE



Matchlock gun



Flintlock gun

THE DEFENCE OF OUR FOREFATHERS—FIRST
LATER THE FLINTLOCK.

A rough picture! Yet the New Englanders never had the richer diet and the greater creature comforts of the Middle and the Southern colonies. There are experts however, in dietetics who assert that the codfish, potatoes and baked beans of New England formed an ideal diet.



THE TITHING MAN SOON STARTLED THE SLEEPER INTO ASHAMED CONSCIOUSNESS.

"Where art thou, Tithing Man?" "Here," said the conscience-keeper, and the tipstaff did the rest.

Except in famine times, notably when the public corn granary yielded that memorably pathetic grist of but five kernels of seed-corn per colonist, larders were well stocked. Breakfast consisted chiefly of suppawn, or the Indian corn

meal mush and fish. Dinner at noon, the Pilgrim's banner eating time, was varied with baked pork and beans, fish, lobster, clams, and in season a goodly array of vegetables. Yet the Pilgrim and Puritan and his immediate descendants had not mastered the art of preserving food in tins and in keeping summer products for use all the year. As compensation, the source of occasional ptomaine poisoning was avoided—in fact, they were immune from certain diseases, and defended from a thousand dangers that have come to us through alleged improvement and far-trumpeted triumphs of modern science and invention.

The Sukguttahha or succotash of the Indian, *i.e.*, young corn, boiled with beans, was promptly adopted by the Pilgrim as luscious food, and still holds its own. Pumpions (pumpkins) cooked in shades of black, yellow, and brown—and made, with sugar added, into pie—a sea of delight shored in with delicious crust, gladdened the eye of onlooker and eater, whether in childhood or age. Dried beans and

berries seem to have been in the main the extent of the Pilgrim's accomplishment in the art of food-preserving. Venison and wild turkey were occasional tidbits, but tea and coffee were unknown until the latter was introduced in 1670—and this, despite alleged Mayflower relics of tea and coffee pots, boasted of by fond descendants. These in some cases are possibly, but not probably authentic. Older children drank beer and cider, while their elders indulged in cider, Jamaica rum, or flip, the last a decoction of the first two liquors, heated before drinking by a “logger-head” or hot iron bar. Bread was frequently cider-soaked. Breaking of dishes was curtailed by a not over-abundant supply

of wooden trenchers instead of crockery platters; even pewter dishes were not common until well into the eighteenth century, although one of the Separatists in Amsterdam was a pewterer. Knives were used to thrust food into the mouth, and as all ate in that way, no one was horrified. Usually, the meat was held on the plate by the left thumb and forefinger, while a piece was cut off. The only forks were large, two-



Courtesy of the New York Tribune.

A HORN BOOK OF COLONIAL TIMES.

pronged affairs for cooking. A Pilgrim rhymester thus outlines the menu of the day:

"The dainty Indian maize
Was eat with clam shells out of wooden trays,
Under thatched hutts without the cry of rent,
And the best sauce to every dish, Content."

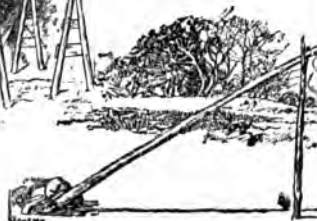
The flowing sap of the maple tree sweetened Johnny and journey-cake, hoe and ash-cake, brown bread and "blossoming corn," the Indian's poetic name for popcorn which was often eaten by the flickering light of a pine-knot. This, when "doused," sent the elders to bed by light from the blazing hearth—the children, snugly tucked in the trundle, having led the procession at dusk.

In the Plymouth town meetings, were novel methods for deciding vital issues of the day, which numbered legion. A fixed price was levied on commodities and a law against undue profiteering not only prevented food usury, but punished severely the transgressor.

In 1679 an appropriation was passed for sweeping the meeting-house and ringing the bell, and in 1681 "that the money due from Mount Hope shall be used in repairing the meeting-house or for building a new one." Among other votes passed was one "that no housekeeper or other in this Towne Resideing shall entertaine any stranger into their house above a fortnight without giving information to the Selectmen upon the forfeiture of ten shillings a weeke . . . and in case the Selectmen see cause . . . to expell them out of the Towne." In 1682 it was voted "that in building the new meeting-house" "the length there of is to be forty foot, and the breadth 40 foot and 16 foot in the wall . . . and to finish the same with seats, Galleries &C." It was also voted that "a committee be appointed by the Towne to Grant Tickets according to Law in such Case provided unto such as are Nessessitated to travell on the Lord's Day in case of danger of death or such like nessisitous occasions."

Most towns showed their attachment to royalty by hav-

CAPTURE OF LOU



ing a King's Highway. In Plymouth's Record Book one reads:

"In 1684 it was voted that the King's Highway throughout our township be leyed out."

In the State of Connecticut the courts once tested the law that horse speeding cannot even today be barred, on the Sabbath, on the King's Highway, somewhat inappropriately keeping step with royal decree in democratic times.

If anywhere in Pilgrim records one finds references to smock marriages (when the bride went through the marriage service unadorned, on the principle that she came to her husband undowered), or to that reprehensible custom of "bundling," they were well veiled, although Maine and some far away New England towns practiced these and other unconventional methods of living, one of which obeyed to the letter Holy Writ. The custom of "bundling," prevailed extensively in all the countries of Europe fronting the North Atlantic, the North Sea, the English Channel, and even the Baltic, along with other inheritances. There are court records which show testimony of propriety and chastity, when houses were small, and the social facilities so abundant in our day, were unknown. Parlors, lights, full and liberal sofa room were the property only of the well-to-do.

A letter sent to Plymouth by Boston in 1768 reads as follows:

"Gentlemen,—You are allready too well acquainted with the mellencholly, A very Alarming Circumstances to which this Provinces as well as America in General is now Reduced. Taxes, Equally Detrimental to the Commercial Interest of the Parent Country & her Colonies, are Imposed upon the people without their Consent . . . The concern & perplexity into which these things have thrown the people have been Greatly Aggravated by a late Declaration of his Exalancy Governor Bernard that one or more regiments may soon be Expected in this province. **The Design of which Troops is in Every's ones Apprehension nothing short of Enforcing by military power the Execution of Acts of Parliament in the forming of which the Colonies have not and cannot have any Constitutional Influence, this is one of the Greatest Distresses to which a free people can be reduced.**"

CAPTURE OF LOUISBUR

READING THE THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION. THE WORDS AS THEY FELL FROM THE LIPS OF THE TOWN CRIER WERE EAGERLY HEARD BY GIDEON, DAME, AND URSULA.





COLONIAL DRAWINGS BARREN OF PERSPECTIVE BUT INTERESTING IN CONTOUR.



COLONIAL DRAWINGS.

This and many a similar communication show how closely the interests of Plymouth were linked with those of the "Baye" colony.

The artist's pencil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries limned scenes that were barren of background making pictures lacking perspective and relief, yet true to life in its old-fashioned and attractive crudeness.

It was the ambitious Governor Shirley, encouraged by Sir William Pepperrell and other stirring souls, who beheld in his mind's eye a New England garrison manning that Gibraltar of the West—Louisburg's fortress on Cape Breton Isle in Acadia. The Massachusetts Legislature conservatively balked, but finally yielded under argument. Sir William Pepperrell, a wealthy merchant of Kittery, Maine, had, doubtless, many a time, with jealous eye, sailed by or stood in the shadow of Louisburg's massive walls. He and Roger Wolcott of Connecticut jointly led the colonial troops that captured the French stronghold most effectively. Commodore Warren, who commanded the English fleet co-operated. The walls of Louisburg at their base were forty feet thick. They were thirty feet high, with strong bastions. Besides being surrounded by a water-filled ditch, eighty feet wide, the fortress was armed with one hundred cannon and eighty mortars. To capture such a masterpiece of French engineering was a task. The yard-long Louisburg Iron Cross, on the walls of Harvard College Library—more secure than when it shadowed a gateway to the Campus—certainly was hardly earned—too hardly to have the stronghold returned to France at the signing of the next treaty. The fortunate capture at the beginning of the siege of a French warship with seventy-four guns, and a large cargo of military stores, proved no small factor in the victorious result.

Louisburg Square, in Boston, the site of that first house of Blaxton's, recalls, by its name, the wonderful achievement, and is a perpetual memorial of colonial pluck and enterprise.



W. Shirley



Wm Pepperrell



GOVERNOR SHIRLEY, GENERAL PEPPERRELL, AND HISTORIC SCENES OF THE CAPTURE OF THE MIGHTY LOUISBURG, THE GIBRALTER OF THE WEST, THAT CHANGED OWNERSHIP MORE THAN ONCE. RETALIATION BURNED IN THE HEART OF FRANCE—SHOWN BY THE COMING OF THE FRENCH FLEET DESTROYED BY A TEMPEST—THE PURPORT TO DEVASTATE THE SEACOAST BORDERING THE ATLANTIC.

This desire of Governor Shirley and General William Pepperrell to shine as military heroes and drive the French from Acadia came very near wiping Massachusetts, including Plymouth and the remaining English coast possessions, from

the map and keeping them off for at least one hundred years.

The expedition against Louisburg required the stripping of the cannon from Boston's harbor-fort on Castle Island. Its success gave the French such a severe jolt that a great naval force was fitted out and sailed from Brest in 1746. Evading the British fleet that vainly tried to bottle it up (let our nation thank God it was in Equinoctial time) these ships were headed for the New England coast. In this mighty fleet were seven thousand sailors and thirty-four transports packed with five battalions of veteran troops. M. de la Rochefoucauld (Duc d'Anville), commanded this overwhelming host, on slaughter bent. Little wonder that Governor Shirley, Boston, and the surround-

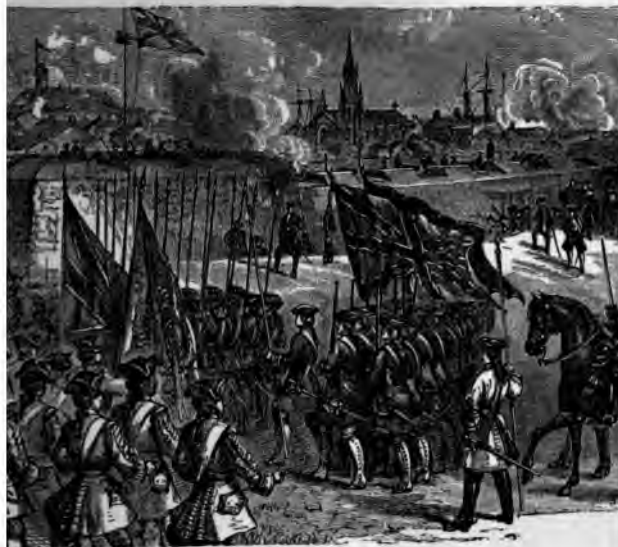
ing country, including Plymouth and other Cape Cod towns, bestirred themselves tremendously to forefend an invader that had orders to retake

Louisburg, burn Boston, devastate with sword, and ravage the entire countryside from the Penobscot to Cumberland Sound. When there was not a British ship in the harbor, not a cannon in the fort, there stood well in the foreground, confronting this dire situation, the Reverend Thomas Prince. On a Sabbath morning he stood in the Old South Church in



THE IRON CROSS CAPTURED FROM LOUISBURG IN 1745 AND NOW IN HARVARD COLLEGE.

CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG



By Charles Scribner's Sons

SURRENDER TO ENGLISH COLONIES OF LOUISBURG, THE
WESTERN WORLD.

Boston, in the presence of an awe-struck congregation, it was on the brink of a terrible calamity. He called on the Lord of Hosts in stentorian tones. He related, as if in immediate answer, "the wind blew, and a mighty storm arose." The Old South Church trembled and rocked; vessels were wrecked and the French fleet was ruined. The Duke suicided, according to the dictates of custom, when a commander was defeated. Boston again resumed the reins of government. This was in October, 1746. Puritans and endangered Plymouthites praised God for their deliverance. The old Tub Pulpit may still be seen, somewhat changed in the course of repairs. I recall that the Quakers who called the steep pulpit a "privileged tub," in their first violences, used to climb in their own meeting-houses from the top of the wash tub, turned upside down. This was a clear proof that from early days, as pict-



EVEN THE FIRE KING IN 1872 WENT BY ON THE OTHER SIDE, AND SPARED THE SACRED EDIFICE, THE OLD SOUTH, ONE OF THREE BOSTON SHRINES.

Testament, human nature, under all names, has remained unchanged.

Thus our poet of Plymouth ancestry described, through *Domine Prince*, this astounding ending of a threatened calamity which, if carried to fruition, promised to alter the entire history of our land. No husking riot nor Lilliputian battle would have been the outcome of this French invasion, had the oncoming hosts landed on our coast and got fairly to work on their outlying campaign of righteous retaliation.



INTERIOR OF BOSTON'S FAMOUS OLD SOUTH CHURCH.



Courtesy of C. B. Webster & Co., Boston, Mass.

**IN ORDERLY FASHION, FILLED WITH THE SOLEMNITY OF THE ACT, PILGRIMS
THUS MARCHED TO MEETING.**



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS.

OCTOBER, 1746

A fleet with flags arrayed
Sailed from the port of Brest,
And the Admiral's ship displayed
The signal "Steer southwest,"
For this Admiral d'Anville
Had sworn by cross and crown
To ravage with fire and steel
Our helpless Boston town.

There were rumors in the street
In the houses there was fear;
Of the coming of the fleet
And the danger hovering near;
And while from mouth to mouth
Spread the tidings of dismay,
I stood in the Old South,
Saying humbly, "Let us Pray."

"O Lord! we would not advise;
But if in thy providence
A tempest should arise
To drive the French fleet hence,
And scatter it far and wide,
Or sink it in the sea,
We should be satisfied,
And thine the glory be."

This was the prayer I made,
For my soul was all on flame;
And even as I prayed,
The answering tempest came.—
It came with a mighty power,
Shaking the windows and walls,
And tolling the bell in the tower
As it tolls at funerals.

* * * * *

The fleet it overtook,
And the broad sails in the van
Like the tents of Cushan shook,
Or the curtains of Midian.

CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG



tesy of A. S. Burbank.

BURIAL HILL, PLYMOUTH, MASS.



Copyright American Congregational Association of Boston, Mass.

PILGRIMS HUDDLING IN THE COLD AT THAT CLAR
PRAYER MEETING.

Down on the reeling decks
Crashed the o'erwhelming seas;
Ah! never were there wrecks
So pitiful as these!

Like a potter's vessel broke
The great ships of the line;
They were carried away as a smoke,
Or sank like lead in the brine.
O Lord! before thy path
They vanished and ceased to be,
When thou didst walk in wrath
With thine horses through the sea!

One Puritan farther discourses on the serious position of the English colony at this time:

"All amounts to this summe; The Lord hath brought us hither, through the swelling seas, through the perils of pyrates, tempests, leakes, fires, rocks, sands, diseases, starvings; and hath here preserved us these many yeares from the displeasure of Princes, the envy and rage of Prelates, the malignant plots of Jesuits, the mutinous contentions of discontented persons, the open and secret attempts of barbarous Indians, the seditious and undermining practices of hereticall false brethren; and is our confidence and courage all swallowed up in the feare of one d'Anville?

This was a practical, even a vital, question most appropriately asked, for back of d'Anville was a mighty host. Without the chastening "hand of the Lord," New England colonists, deprived of suitable implements of warfare—England having practically forbidden all manufacturing by American colonies—from a human standpoint, faced certain destruction.

England's policy of keeping the colonies disarmed was the seed-bed out of which grew that prompt amendment to the Constitution of 1787—"the right to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." It forces us to recall also that almost all of our Revolutionary supplies, from abroad, cannon, powder, shot, and clothing, came from the Dutch Island



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EVANGELINE.

of St. Eustatius—though much of their war material was made in Birmingham and Sheffield, England.

Another description of this vital happening, written close to the hour, reads that even while Dr. Prince was praying "a sudden gust of wind arose, the day having until now been clear and calm, so violent as to cause a loud clattering of the windows. The pastor paused in his prayer, and, looking around upon the congregation with a countenance full of hope, he again commenced, and with great devotional ardor supplicated the Almighty to cause that wind to frustrate the object of 'our enemies.' A tempest ensued, in which the greater part of the French fleet was wrecked on the coast of Nova Scotia. The Duke d'Anville committed suicide."

It is said in days when the British held Boston by the throat and hesitated not to roughly shake it—making a riding school of the Old South Church—a few Scotch Presbyterian warriors had retributive spasms. They remembered **that historic, miraculous prayer of the former owner of the books they were burning. From that same tub-pulpit, some thirty years before, Dr. Prince had besought the Almighty to deliver His people from d'Anville's batteries. As they looked upon Dr. Prince's valuable books and manuscripts aflame in the meeting-house stove, perhaps even the unregenerate among the book-burners turned from query to fear. Would the good man's shade possibly revisit the scene of his mighty triumph over Nature's forces? It might be that his destructive prayer power would intrude upon their deviltries!**

DEPORTATION OF THE ACADIANS BY PLYMOUTH TROOPS

May 20, 1755, the day General John Winslow marched down First Street with Plymouth troops at his heels, was a Red Letter Day in the history of the Old Colony Town. Winslow joined Colonel Moncton in the French and



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READING AND ENFORCING THE ORDER DRIVING ACADIANS FROM THEIR HOMES
IN FAIR ACADIA.

Indian War by order of the King, the object being to break up, devastate, and export Acadian colonists. Within a month, a thrifty people was scattered and many poor farm candidates were distributed through New England, one thousand being apportioned to Boston alone. In fact, these Acadians* were deported southward as far as the Outpost Land of Georgia. Even on New Orleans quays landed some six hundred and fifty industrious but homeless Acadian peasants.

Philadelphians love to point out the places notable in Acadian lore, especially as pictured by Longfellow.

Old age and youth, prelate and parishioner, lovers and enemies, were thus ruthlessly torn asunder and in some cases separated forever. One thinks of family partings at the old slave-blocks during early days of colony and nation.

That world-famous grandson of pedagogue Peleg Wadsworth of Kingston, on Cape Cod, has pictured with poetic license, in his poem "Evangeline," the details of this galling act that stirs in profound sorrow American descendants of the despoilers nearly two centuries later. They think of ancient Babylonian atrocities by which it was attempted to destroy a nation.

In the twentieth century, the tourist faces a statue erected one hundred and fifty years after the expulsion to the memory of the fair Evangeline. It stands near the site of that heart-breaking tragedy, whose description stirred two continents with righteous indignation, haloing in heart-searching poetry what might have been less realistic in prose.

Yet Longfellow was far more accurate than Campbell in his "Gertrude of Wyoming" in which he depicts Brant to be a "monster" and present at the "massacre" on the Susquehanna, when Brant was not there, but far away, and never would war on women and children.

*First called Cadie, then by the English Quoddy and Passamaquoddy.



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"ALL THE SAME IN A HUNDRED YEARS," SAYS THE FLIPPANT OPTIMIST.



BOTH OLD AGE AND INFANCY FELT THE IRON HEEL AND STEEL-POINTED BAYONET OF THE OPPRESSOR.

Then came the guard from the ships, and marching proudly among them
entered the sacred portal. With loud and dissonant clangor
choed the sound of their brazen drums from ceiling and casement.

* * * * *

Then uprose their commander, and spake from the steps of the altar,
folding aloft in his hands with its seals the royal commission.
You are convened this day," he said, "by his Majesty's orders.
Element and kind has he been; but how you have answered his kindness,
let our own hearts reply! To my natural make and my temper
painful the task is I do, which to you I know must be grievous.

Yet must I bow and obey, and deliver the will of our monarch;
 Namely, that all your lands and dwellings, and cattle of all kinds
 Forfeited be to the crown, and that you yourselves from this province



STATUE OF EVANGELINE, BEGUN BY
 PHILIPPE HEBERT AND FINISHED BY HIS
 SON. ERECTED AT GRAND PRE.

Be transported to other lands. God grant you may dwell there
 Ever as faithful subjects, a happy and peaceable people!
 Prisoners now I declare you; for such is his Majesty's pleasure!"*

* * * * *

* Reading the other side of the shield and picturing actual conditions soften somewhat the usual harsh verdict, as colonists believed that Acadia unless destroyed would be a convenient resting and rally point for fellow Frenchmen, who, at that time, had but one ambition, to kill the Englishman, enslave his wife, and children, and burn his home. Yet the critic asks, "And what was the ambition of British statecraft? Was it not to possess all North America?" Moreover, this policy of scattering Frenchmen was but a continuation of that of King James I in 1623, in refusing to allow the Walloons to settle in one place in Virginia, and making it a sine qua non that they should be disposed in many towns.

Still stands the forest primeval, but under the shade of its branches
Dwells another race, with other customs and language.
Only along the shore of the mournful and misty Atlantic
Linger a few Acadian peasants, whose fathers from exile
Wandered back to their native land to die in its bosom.



HILLS AND VALES OF FAIR ACADIA.

General John Winslow of Plymouth, great grandson of Governor Edward Winslow and brother of Edward, who built the Winslow mansion in 1740, Plymouth's chief dwelling of colonial days, was fifty-three years old when he smiled complacently at the world in general and Acadia in particular, as, jointly with Colonel Moncton, his superior, he followed out in the spring of 1765, the behest of deportation from George II.

Samuel Watts' signature, daily read by Acadians through blinding tears, often signified heart-rending separations. Samuel Watts was secretary of the committee in charge of the distribution of these unhappy exiles, who arbitrarily apportioned families and individuals, deporting them from place to place.

"What is the new land like to which we are going, daughter, and how shall we be treated by people who, at the point of the bayonet, force us from home?" Picturesque and fertile was this Acadian land so ruthlessly devastated,

while fair of feature and pure of heart were many of the Acadians removed by Pilgrim and Puritan troops.

Supported at public expense, the Acadian lost his self-respect, independence, and habits of industry—attributes that,

Saml Watts

WHO AS SECRETARY SIGNED THE
ORDER FOR DISTRIBUTION.

when lost, wreck the unfortunate losers. A few of them in time drifted back to their Fatherland, and creeping into blasted, burned, and devastated

makeshift hovels, eked out a miserable existence in what was once fair Acadia, but the great bulk of the five to seven thousand deported became a lost people.

In the poem "Evangeline," is visualized Plymouth's indorsed crime of scattering and impoverishing the Acadians.



EXPULSION OF THE ACADIANS.

It was harsh treatment to be denied the privilege of their old form of worship. That fiery Irishman, Edmund Burke, thus drastically brands the English nation for this iniquity.

"We did, in my opinion, most inhumanly, and upon pretences which in the eye of an honest man are not worth a farthing, root out this poor, innocent, deserving people, whom our utter inability to govern or to reconcile gave us no sort of right to extirpate."

Later on, England reversed its intolerant policy and granted to the French in Canada full freedom of conscience



EXPULSION OF ACADIANS BY PLYMOUTH SOLDIERS JOINING KING GEORGE'S FORCES.

Wm. Brewster

—an act of parliament which is still held as the sheet anchor of their liberties, celebrating the date much as we do the Fourth of July. This was done against the protest of the Puritan clergy of New England who hard gripped traditions.

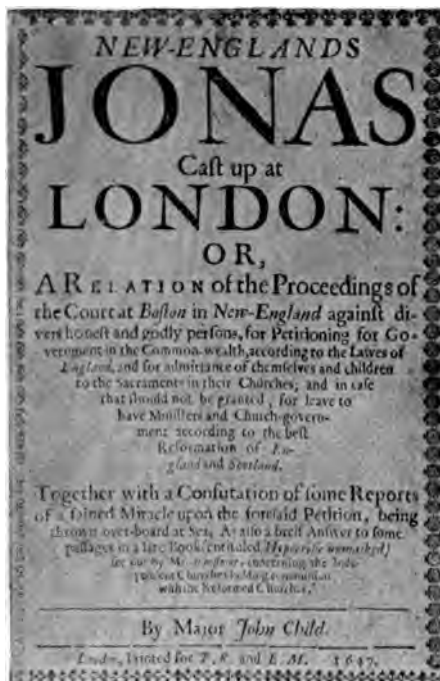
Puritan New England again failed in its Christianity, when in 1774 it prevented the ultimate flag of the United Colonies from having fourteen instead of thirteen stripes.



Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution

BELIEVED TO BE THE MOST ACCURATE ATTEMPT TO VISUALIZE THE MAYFLOWER.

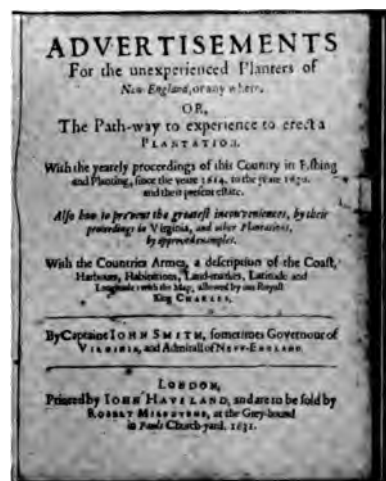
Canada was represented in the First Continental Congress in Carpenter's Hall in 1774. On the outbreak of hostilities in 1775 a delegation, under the influence of Washington, Franklin, and Adams, was sent to Canada to urge the people, then mostly French, to join the union of the colonies, but the Puritan clerical protests against them had soured them, so our flag raised January 2, 1776, at Cambridge had only thirteen stripes.



JONAS CAST UP AT LONDON.



SPIRITUAL MILK FOR BOSTON BABES.



THE EXPERIMENTAL PLANTATIONS OF NEW ENGLAND.

CHAPTER VII
NEWSPAPERS—GREAT AWAKENING—
REVOLUTION—RÉSUMÉ

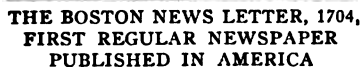
NEW ENGLAND NEWSPAPERS

THE Pilgrim Fathers of that first generation never saw a New England newspaper unless the few who were alive in 1690 read that one issue of *Public Occurrences*. It was 1571, one hundred and twenty years after the art of printing was known in Europe and practised by Faust and Coster,* before that earliest British newspaper, *The English Mercury*, was published. In 1583 the *Venice Gazette* was published in that Italian city.

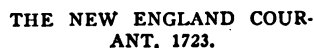
Boston-on-the-Charles, after a supreme effort, published the first and only issue of "*Public Occurrences, both Foreign and Domestic*," on Thursday, September 25, 1690, over one hundred years after Venice set the example. It was abruptly stopped by Massachusetts legislative authority with that very first day's issue. Seemingly every paper was lost forever until persistent research the world over unearthed a single copy of that ephemeral Boston paper—the first published in America. Perusal shows how little was required to stampede a Massachusetts legislature which was evidently in abject terror of The Press.

Benjamin Harris was the owner and R. Pierce the printer of that fearsome newspaper infant so inhumanly throttled. Verbatim quotations are here given:

* A set of Korean books printed in movable type is in the British Museum, made one hundred years before the birth of Gutenberg. Critical scholars now know that printing by movable type was an invention of the Koreans, the Mongols probably bringing it to Europe.



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"It is designed that the country shall be furnished once a month (or if any Glut of Occurrences happen oftener,) with an Account of such considerable things as have arrived unto our Notice."

"The editor will take pains to get a faithful relation of things, and hopes observers will communicate of such matters as fall under their notice; first, that memorable occurrences may not be neglected or forgotten; second, that people may better understand public affairs; and third, 'that something may be done towards the Curing, or at least the Charming of that Spirit of Lying, which prevails among us,' &c."

"The Publisher of these Occurrences proposes to correct false reports, and expose the First Raiser of them, and thinks none will dislike this Proposal, but such as intend to be guilty of so villainous a Crime."

Again one reads—

"Of a Thanksgiving appointed by the Christian Indians of Plymouth; the husbandmen find no want of hands, 'which is looked upon as a merciful Providence,' being a favorable season; the Indians have stolen two children, aged nine and eleven years, from Chelmsford; an old man of Waterford hung himself in his cow house, having lately lost his wife, and thereupon the devil took advantages of the melancholy which he thereupon fell into. Epidemical fevers and agues and small pox abound; of small pox three hundred and twenty had died in Boston and, children were born full of the distemper. A large fire occurred near Mill Creek—twenty houses burned; and on the 16th and 17th of this instant (September 1690) a fire broke out near the South Meeting House, which consumed five or six houses; a young man perished in the flames, and one of the best printing presses was lost. Report of a vessel bound to Virginia, put into Penobscot, where the Indians and French butchered the master and most of the crew."

Next comes an article in relation to the expedition to Canada under General Winthrop, its failure, and a variety of Indian complications. The editor continues:

"Tis possible we have not so exactly related the circumstances of this business, but the Account is as near exactness as any that could be had, in the midst of many various reports about it."

Again—

"A massacre of a body of French Indians in the 'East Country.' Two English captives escaped at Passamaquoddy, and into Portsmouth. There



THE INDEPENDENT CHRONICLE, 1776.



MASSACHUSETTS SPY, 1771.



THE BOSTON GAZETTE, 1721.



THE NEW ENGLAND WEEKLY JOURNAL, 1727.

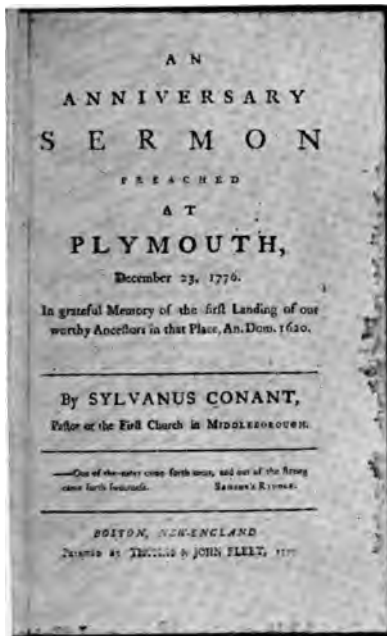
was terrible butchery among the French, Indians, and English at this time. Following this is some news from Portsmouth by an arrival from Barbadoes; a report that the city of Cork had proclaimed King William, and turned their French landlords out of door, &c.; more Indian troubles at Plymouth, Saco, &c., &c."

Any such array of news must have set tongues and heads wagging mightily between the two capes, Ann and Cod. No doubt, also under breath, there proceeded a steady stream of anathemas upon legislative authority that had so ruthlessly stamped out the life of this one-day progeny which bade fair to broaden fireside discussion of good men and dames; turning their thoughts from crops and theology to doings on the other side of their own land. The wide world which bordered upon the North, South, and such other of the Seven Seas as could furnish news, was now in their ken. It required the long incubative term of full fourteen years, or until August, 1704, and specious argument with the authorities ere those who had tasted the sweets of "*Public Occurrences*" had the satisfaction of reading *The Boston News Letter* before the Grim Destroyer checked its course.

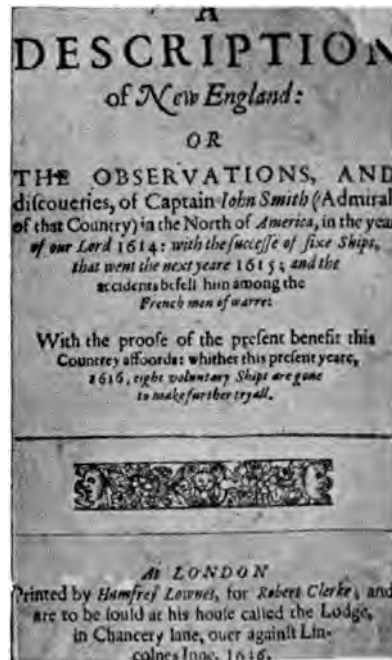
The Boston News Letter was permitted to be printed in Boston Town and to circulate throughout New England. This paper which, through legislative grace attained seniority, lived during seventy years. It was owned by John Campbell, Scotch postmaster and bookseller, printed by B. Green, and sold by Nicholas Brown.

Ubiquitous Judge Sewall tells of crossing the raging Charles to give to Mr. Willard, Harvard's head, "The first News Letter ever carried across the river." The capitals, N. E. W. S., furnishing an example of the verbosity of the times, stood for North, East, West, and South, instead of the present interpretation, News.

In the dearth of newspapers, what did the Forefathers find to discuss save the Book of Books, Ainsworth's Psalms, and the literature bearing on this and a future life? We can



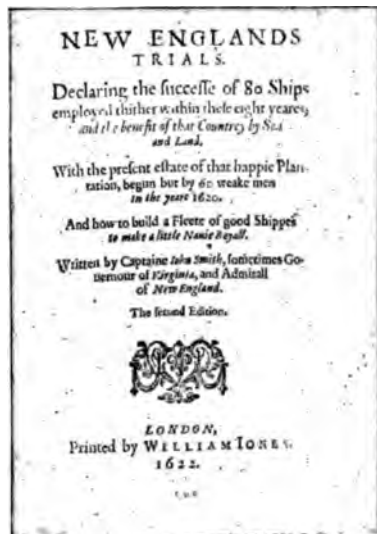
ANNIVERSARY SERMON BY SYLVANUS CONANT IN 1777.



JOHN SMITH'S DESCRIPTION OF NEW ENGLAND.



WEST'S ANNIVERSARY SERMON OF 1777.

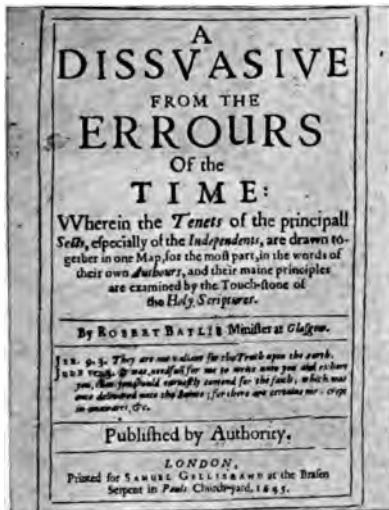


NEW ENGLAND'S TRIALS BY JOHN SMITH, 1622.

easily answer if it is recalled that the century in which the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock and the one or two centuries preceding were packed with every kind of thrill in all sorts of realms through the known world, making old ideals obsolete and opening new vistas. An Elizabeth, a Cromwell, a Titian, a Michelangelo, a Bacon, a Shakespeare, and a Milton; a Galileo, a Cervantes, a Walter Raleigh, a Newton; a Leibniz, a Kepler, a Rembrandt, a Rubens, a Van Dyke, a Pascal, a Claude Lorraine, a Tintoretto and a Grotius; one and all had set the Christian world thinking hard and had provoked nations to action.

The note of the times was that of joyous achievement, for both men and women did more than muse and ponder—indeed, few centuries could duplicate what was actually wrought and transformed into abiding institutions. Elizabeth's brilliant reign, the triumph of the great Dutch Republic that had so much to do with both the Pilgrims and the Puritans, the settlement of New Netherland and the development of the Hudson River valley, the paths of commerce opened, and the work accomplished by those two great trading corporations, the Dutch East India Company, and the English India Trading Company, together with the humbling of Spain—enabling Englishmen to settle America unmolested—made the era stand forth preëminently. These were the great centuries also that gave us the microscope, the thermometer, the barometer, and the air pump; solved for us the problem of the circulation of the blood, and even began to test the weirdly erratic movements of electricity—A broad and turbulent ocean could not prevent the Pilgrims—Englishmen reinforced by living abroad in the atmosphere bred by free printing and scientific inquiry—from discussing deep questions opened by these stupendous discoveries and world-wide happenings.

Years before this, in 1380, Wyclif had made his translation of the Bible into English speech and sent forth his "poor preachers"; Savonarola had struck boldly at for-



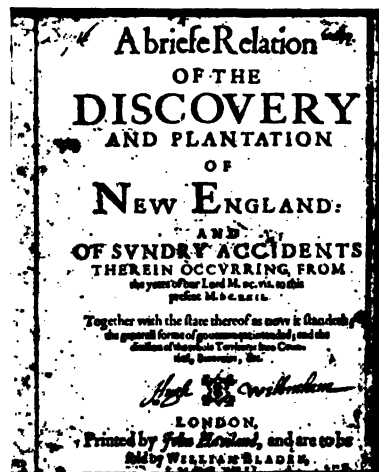
ROBERT BAYLIS' BOOK ON ERROR.



RELATION OF BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND.



LETTER SIGNED BY WILLIAM PA-BODIE, WHO MARRIED ELIZABETH ALDEN.



RELATION OF BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND PLANTATION.

malism; the Great Reformation had been started by Luther, awakening fifty million people, and Knox and Calvin, leading strenuous lives, fell into line to dare pope, emperor,

and king to do their worst, while they set the world aflame. The sequence was a wide distribution of the Bible in palace and cot. Who could image a picture such as Robert Burns truly limns in "the Cotter's Saturday Night," as possible during the Middle Ages?

Against this dazzling brightness in the world's picture we note terrible shadows. Witch persecution came to the fore, and tore deep gashes in Old and New World thought and society.

The massacre of Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day, religious troubles in France, persecution of Anabaptists, Belgian Walloons and Flemings, and later of Free Churchmen of various names, all demonstrated that pure Christianity is incoercible, and that no fire can burn truth out of the world.

Richard Draper
named his newspaper
"The Adam and Eve."

Richard Draper

Constant perusal of *The Boston News Letter*, passed from hand-to-hand, or, as its news was purveyed from mouth-to-mouth, kept Plymouthites well in touch with doings of the times at home and abroad. Yankee ingenuity was displayed when Campbell had copies printed on writing paper in 1721. This left a blank sheet for the letter scrivener, to save on postage rates. Two birds could be killed in that ancient single-stone process.

Richard Draper continued the paper started by Campbell, and in May, 1768, both *The Massachusetts Gazette* (or News-Letter) and the *Boston Post and Advertiser* became government papers.

• First printer in Boston, Foster's motto, "skill was his cash."

Draper renamed his Gazette *The Adam and Eve*, possibly attempting to symbolize primal truth. In September, 1769, the sheet reverted to the more prosaic title of *The Massachusetts Gazette and News Letter*. He took a partner in May, 1774, but the next month Draper died. His widow, Margaret, continued the publication in the Tory interest until 1776, when Boston was evacuated. The majority of its subscribers, scattered through King George's fleet of one hundred and seventy-six ships, left for Halifax, which gave rise to the semi-damnatory phrase used by New England for a century or more, "Go to Halifax." During the occupation of the town by the British, both patriot and Tory were keeping a watchful eye on the other.

"We hear a certain Person of Weight among the Rebels hath offered to return to his Allegiance on Condition of being pardoned and provided for: What encouragement he has received remains a secret."

Mrs. Draper's paper was not without an "esteemed contemporary," and was lustily attacked on occasion by the *New England Chronicle*, or the *Evening Gazette*, published at Cambridge, just across the river, in that town first mentioned by Governor Winthrop, under the name of Newe Towne, as head of the colony, instead of Boston. The Cambridge *Evening Gazette* in that trying year, 1775, was loyal to the Continental Congress. On January 1, 1776, the thirteen striped flag with the Union Jack in the canton was bonfired, and on the following day the thirteen stripes whipped the air, proclaiming freedom. June 14, 1777, the thirteen stars were added—not in a canton, symbol of a feudal or royal master, but in a field, symbol of a united nation.

The advocate of colonial independence again states:

"The miserable * * * * of Tyranny in Boston appear now to be somewhat conscious of their infamy in Burning Charlestown, and are, with the assistance of the Father of Liars, devising methods for clearing up their characters. One of them, in Mrs. Draper's paper, asserts that the Provin-

cials, on the 17th of June, after firing out of Houses upon the King's troops, set the Buildings on Fire. This, doubtless, is as true as that the Provincials fired—first upon the King's Troops at Lexington. Both of them are equally false, and well known to be as palpable Lies as ever were uttered. The propagation of them are, however, perfectly consistent with the Perfidy, Cowardice, and Barbarity of Gage and his detestable understrappers."

Thus Billingsgate flew, ever spicy, and semi-occasionally packed with thrills that laid foundations for even more lively methods of settlement, probably at times not without the argument of fists—the special weapon of the Anglo-Saxon race—in odd corners of town and countryside.

The expiring shriek of *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* in October, 1765, pictures graphically the trend of that hour in the newspaper world. It was in the decade preceding the Revolution, when the country was torn by distrust of men and measures, few being then able to discern light beyond the deepening shadows.

HUGUENOTS AND CAVALIERS OF THE CAROLINAS

New England had no monopoly of the Puritanical spirit. In proof is the fact of its presence below Mason and Dixon's line. A large majority of the schools and higher institutions of learning before 1800 were founded by men of Calvinistic faith and Puritan spirit. Maryland and both Old, and what became West Virginia, as well as the Carolinas, held a fair proportion of that intensity of will that dared scaffold and flames.

As time passed, environment caused the South Carolinian, the Hot Spur or Vixen Sister, to uphold slavery with the same determination that her New England brother Puritan long afterward used in denouncing it. These Carolinians, both South and North, were variable in strain of blood as mood of temper. Among those who flocked to these shores were representatives of John Locke and Lord Shaftesbury, originators of that Utopian dream, the Mar-

gravate of Azilia, a chimerical scheme to transplant in the New World baronial castles and phalanxed feudal retainers; a landed nobility ruling a subservient peasantry.

In this realm, created in imagination and having existence only on paper; the craftsmanship of a skilled penman was astonishing even to grotesqueness. On his drawing-board were laid out principalities, measured to an inch, hills and valleys, game preserves, farm and fruit lands, trees for timber and trees for fruit; cots for the poor and palaces for the rich, with wide level roadways through a wholly precipitous, mountainous country.

Needless to say, this "base fabric of a vision," except in history, left not "a wrack behind."

The first blood shed in the Revolution—mostly from the veins of Scotch-Irishmen—was not on Lexington Common, but at Allamance in the colony of North Carolina, cause by Governor Tryon's order of unrighteous taxation. On Golden Hill, in New York City, in 1921, was re-erected the symbol of liberty, the Liberty Pole. It was thrice cut down and twice erected before 1775, not without blood.

After the Spanish oncoming to Santa Fé in 1540, and to St. Augustine in 1572, the settlement of America north of the Gulf of Mexico proceeded slowly. In the Northland as early as 1534, Cartier, the Frenchman, sailed up the St. Lawrence "ocean-river," and unfurled the flag of France as he stood on the red rock of Stadacone, from which later

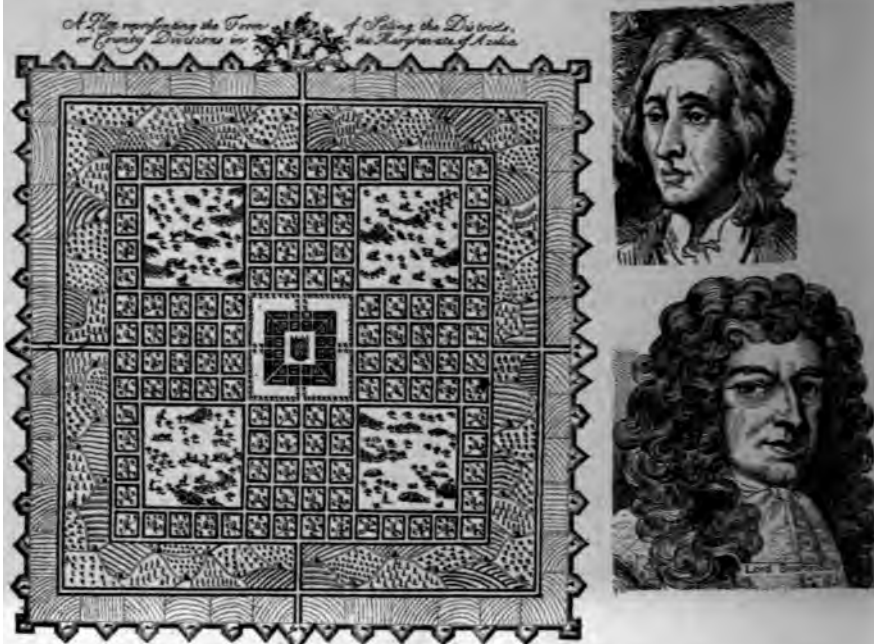


A COLONIAL NEWSPAPER.

A fac-simile about one-third the size of the original.

THE DEATH THROES OF "THE PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER."

grew fortified Quebec. There was an English colony begun at Roanoke in 1578 but it is lost to history, for successful colonization had not yet become to Englishmen a fine art. Starvation was usually the prime cause of failure,



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THE AZILIA, THE UTOPIAN DREAM OF JOHN LOCKE AND LORD SHAFTESBURY.

for white men in the wilderness starved where an Indian son of the forest would feast.

Champlain, the Father and Admiral of New France, penetrated into what became the Empire State, and the first illustrated book about America was by himself, he having in 1605 reached Montreal.

in 1607, and the Church of England men at Pemaquid, in

The Cavalier English settlement began at Jamestown Maine, of the same year. The men of the Reformed Dutch Church wintered on Manhattan in 1613, and the English Pilgrims settled at Plymouth in 1620. Puritan colonists made homes along the shore in 1623-1625, and men



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Artist Louis Mora.

THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY.

of the same faith and spirit fixed their tabernacles at Salem, Charlestown, Newtown, and Boston in 1625-1630.

In this pageant of American history one sees again the map and the many ancestral strains of Europe. The Walloons of the Hudson valley; the Covenanters, the men of the French Reformed Church of the Carolinas, the Huguenots, not only of New Jersey, but of other frontier colonies, and of Pennsylvania; the Swedish Lutherans of Delaware, the Germans of the Keystone colony, the Welsh scattered in nearly every one of the thirteen colonies, and the Roman

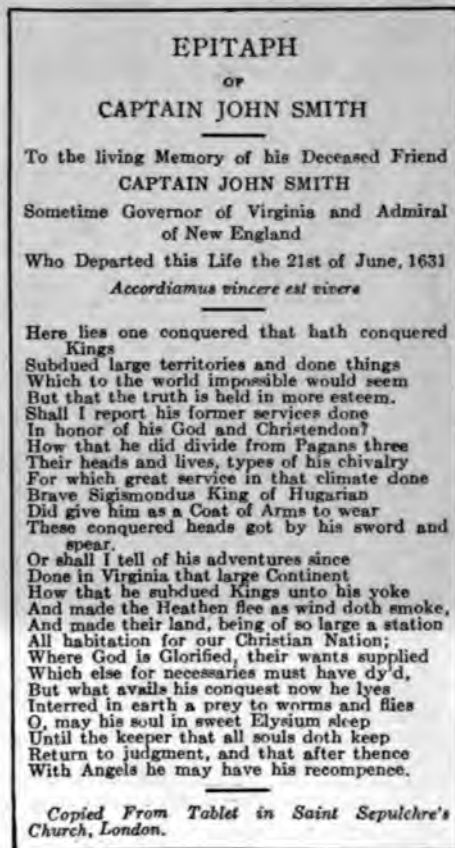
Catholics of Maryland, were all linked, according to their light, in a chain of development, adding to the commonwealth which was becoming the United States. From each

country these sons and daughters who crossed the Atlantic were stalwart, industrious, and unconquerable. They handled the ploughshare and voted in the Town or Congregational meeting to the glory of God and the growth of the future nation. We must not forget that even in New England the towns and villages so-called were religious congregations even more than they were civic units.

Bible-loving, Bible-carrying Huguenots pulled a bow oar in the Pilgrim and Puritan craft of success, though as a rule Huguenots—like the Scotch Ulsterites and the Pure Scotch

were less noted for exclusive settlements than for being scattered among other colonies. Even Plymouth acquired added strength

from these sources. Oxford, Massachusetts (now Worcester), was largely settled by Huguenots, as was New Rochelle, New York. This place was chosen and favored by Jacob Leisler and received its name from the Republican stronghold in France that defied the pope until Richelieu leveled its walls and build-



A fac simile of this tablet is preserved in the Old Powder Horn at Williamsburg

JOHN SMITH'S EPITAPH. SETTING FORTH IN CONVINCING FASHION THE MARVELOUS POWER OF THIS FORCEFUL LEADER OF PIONEERS.



By the King.

**AP Proclamation for Selecting the
Plantation of Virginia.**

Plantation of Virginia.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

And in the next line, because the imagination and the act of correction, of rebuke, of admonition, is also the work of the Holy Spirit, the author of the text is reminding us that the work of the Holy Spirit is not limited to the growth of their plantations, to one of them, but that a different, broader and deeper work is also being done by the Spirit among the members of the church, that the Spirit is also at work in the hearts of the people and among the community. So the author is reminding us that the work of the Holy Spirit is not limited to the growth of their plantations, to one of them, but that a different, broader and deeper work is also being done by the Spirit among the members of the church, that the Spirit is also at work in the hearts of the people and among the community.

known as Our Court at White Hall, the thirteenth day of May, in the fifth year of Our Reign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

God save the King.

Printed at London by Bonham Norton and John Bill,
Riverside Road, W. 1. Printed by Excellence Masterpiece.

Printers to the Kings most Excellent Maieſtie.
M. DC. XXV.

PROCLAMATION TO VIRGINIA

M. D. C. XXXV.

ings and scattered the remnant of its people in 1628. The Huguenots abroad ever swiftly gravitated toward the free places on the earth, notably Holland, Ulster County in Northern Ireland, and most numerous in those American colonies in



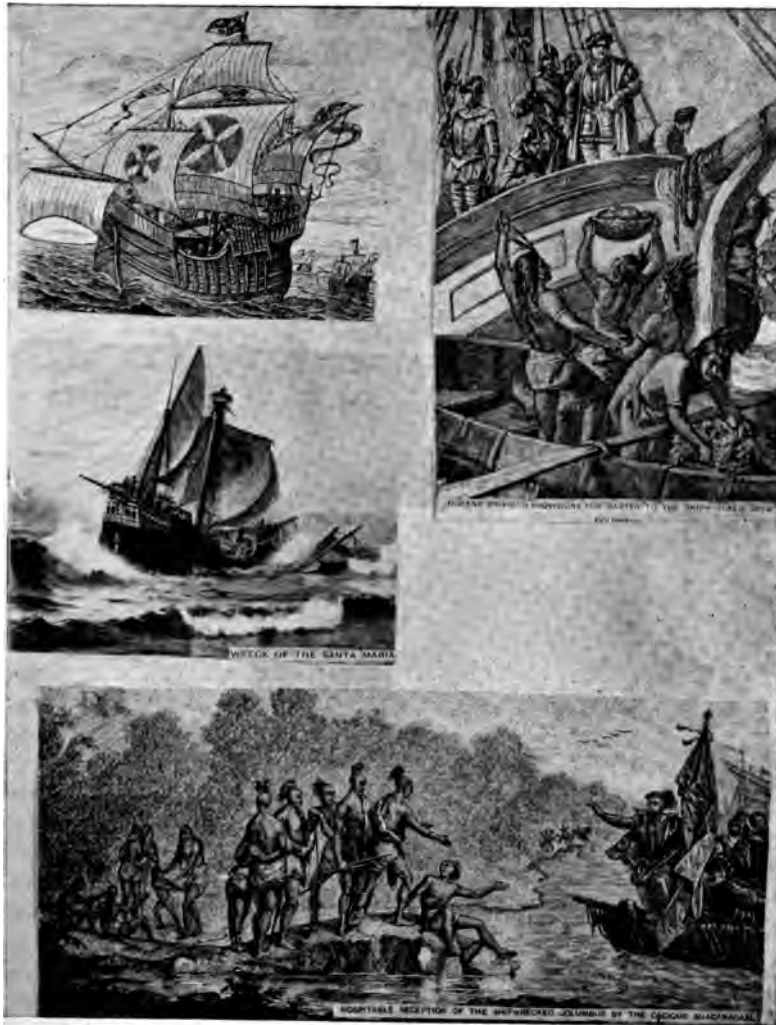
MEDAL GIVEN TO KING POTOMACK BY THE ENGLISH KING.

which freedom of conscience was a prominent feature. The Huguenots, with their gifts and graces, were not only "the yeast in the Dutch cake," but they brought added refinement to New England.

The infusion of Dutch blood, often reaching the colonies



CHAMPLAIN FIGHTING THE IROQUOIS, A BATTLE THAT HAD MUCH TO DO WITH FRANCE'S ULTIMATELY LOSING CONTROL OF AMERICA.



SWEDISH LUTHERANS SETTLING DELAWARE, LATER TO YIELD TO DUTCH SUPREMACY.

by way of England, meant in the final national progress. The two hundred and seventy Scotch prisoners captured by Cromwell at Dunbar and sent to Boston, liberated from under the shadow of death, circumvented fate by making grand citizens of the Olde Baye State. Out of the Scotch-
ish element arose more presidents than from any other. In proportion to their known numbers, no immigrants sup-

HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS AND PURITANS

ed a larger number of able men and women to serve
nation born July 4, 1776, than did the Huguenots.

Neither Romanism nor the Celtic-Irish people had
ch to do with the settlement of New England, though
n the green soil of "Auld" Ireland, through the County
Ulster—confiscated by James I from two powerful nobles
a charter given April 16, 1605—in time poured a vast
am of people from the north of Ireland to America.
e blood of these thrifty people, lovers of education and
ned ministry, Scotch Covenanters, Calvinists, and fol-
ers of Knox, mingled with that of the Puritan and
guenot.

South Carolina, settled by the English in 1670 had,
er 1681, goodly accessions of Huguenots. Large estates
ted with indigo and rice, the labor performed by slaves,
o outnumbered the white race as two to one, made the
ter rich, and established a southern gentry that enjoyed
to the utmost.

The oldest Huguenot church in the United States is in
arleston, South Carolina—its walls lined with the marble
ets of the American kindred of the pioneers. These
dern folks throughout the area of the Thirteen Original
es and others are proud of their ancestry.

As recently as 1750 our progenitors grappled with a
pendous task, when they planned the conquest and ab-
ption of the North American continent for England, from
an to ocean, though in that year controlling but a narrow
st line, between mountain range and the ocean, as set
h on maps herewith. It was this same unity of interest
the habit of massing in towns instead of settling in
posts distant from the eastern country that won ultimate
remacy. This method of nation building developed ex-
sive powers which drove the Spaniard and Frenchman,
tly by force of arms and partly through purchase, back
their home lands over sea. Thus far, the nations of Latin

PREPARING FOR REVOLUTION

culture have not been able to hold their the constructive genius and power of th who follow the political theories laid Geneva in 1536. In fact, it was their fr craft and having the Free Churches victory.

The French, coeval with the Englis ment, through lack of persistence and un had not a tenth of their rival's wealth an eighty thousand settlers scattered through the Mississippi valley to the gulf, in the more land, were rovers rather than r They were no match for the coast-guard their more than a million colonists, in clo the year round, with a world trade, an distant in time in a bee line on that England. From another point of view, pactness of the home and family were God, one wife, and faithfulness to frien slogan.

The Frenchman in Canada had, more intricate problem to solve. A tortu ney of six months through tangled forests and crevassed mountain ranges, hamper strewn rapids in summer and rivers ic ridged in winter, was necessary when between Quebec and New Orleans. Th ney, which ended with a voyage across speedy and healthy development by Fre semi-feudal rule well-nigh impossible, wh resources in blood and treasure. The resul half of struggle between the Latin and ideals and types of civilization is the America. Stretching from the North to from the Gulf to the Canadian border, o world-power which will be guided by the

the forefathers. Moreover, between the two peoples which use the English language, law, and inheritances, there stretches what is unique in the world—a frontier three thousand miles long without a fort or gun. Though invisible, this mutual line of defense is stronger than a Chinese wall.

Among the strange beliefs gripping the Puritan mind of both pastor and flock was that in reference to East Haddam, or noisy Machemoodin, translated "the place of noises." East Haddam for thirty years was bamboozled into believing itself the birthplace of earthquakes, the origin of which was sometimes attributed to Indian "paw-paws" which for centuries had taken place on its plains. These eerie experiences spread to Plymouth and kept its good people in anxious, inquiring mood. On August 13, 1729, the Reverend Mr. Hosmer thus writes Mr. Prince of the Old South Church of Boston:

"As to the earthquakes, I have something considerable and awful to tell you. Earthquakes have been here (and nowhere but in this precinct, as can be discerned)—that is, they seem to have their centre, rise, and origin among us, as has been observed for more than thirty years."

If with bated breath the educated clergy could thus view the movements of nature, what must have been the state of mind of the multitude? The score of earthquakes which occurred in New England from 1628 to 1817, three of which almost ripped Boston asunder, ever gave fearsome tremors to timid souls. The record is as follows:

1639. Jan.	16.	Another earthquake.
1643. March	5.	Sunday morning another earthquake.
1658.		A great earthquake.
1663. Jan.	26.	Very great earthquake.
1669. Apr.	3.	An earthquake.
1727. Oct.	29.	An earthquake.
1730. Apr.	12.	An earthquake.
1732. Sep.	5.	An earthquake.
1737. Feb.	6.	An earthquake.



HISTORY STATES THAT LORD BELLOMONT WAS ACCUSED OF SHARING IN PIRATES' PLUNDER. TRIAL AND FATE OF KIDD.

1744. June 3. The earthquake commemorated.
1755. Nov. 18. A very great earthquake. About one hundred chimneys thrown down, and other damage.
1757. July 8. An earthquake.
1761. March 12. An earthquake.
1761. Nov. 1. An earthquake.
1782. Nov. 29. An earthquake.
1783. Nov. 29. An earthquake.
1800. March 11. An earthquake.
1810. Nov. 9. An earthquake.
1817. Sep. 7. An earthquake.

According to the general belief, the Devil was the Prince of the Powers of the Air, as stated in scriptural language and reduced in its expression to all literalness by that spiritual teacher, Cotton Mather, whose ever fertile imagination was equal to any and all occasions that might arise in the heavens, on the earth, or under it. From such a seed-bed and in such an atmosphere the belief in the epidemic delusion of witchcraft spread with horrid rapidity as of a prairie fire. The Pilgrim-Puritan was ever argumentative and never more so than when the subject under discussion was theology. Mather writes:

"It hath been seen that thunders oftener fall upon houses of God, than upon any other houses. Our meeting-houses and our minister's houses have had a singular share in the strokes of thunders."

And in a sermon preached 1694, entitled *Brontologia Sacra*, this sapient reason is assigned for it:

"Whatever the witch-advocates may make of it, it is a scriptural and a rational assertion, that in the thunder there is oftentimes by the permission of God, the agency of the Devil. The Devil is the Prince of the Air, and the Daemons have a peculiar spite at houses that are set apart for the peculiar service of God."

Here the old superstition regnant in the Chinese world of culture and the fantastic and nightmarelike vagaries of alleged Christianity met.



SOME OF THE PIRATES WHO MENACED NEW ENGLAND SHIPPING.

An unholy combination was that between Massachusetts' only governor of noble lineage and the alleged Pirate Kidd, now known to have been a vicarious sacrifice to save others from their just dues.

"My Lord, it is a very hard sentence," said Kidd, when asked why sentence should not be passed against him. "For my part, I am the most innocent person of them all, only I have been sworn against by perjured persons." He was executed on Execution Dock, England, and hung up in chains some distance down the river.

Pirate Day was a banner-day in Boston, for were not four pirates to be swung off on a land-raised yard-arm? Twenty thousand frantic human beings struggled to get the nearest view of what to the crowd was but an episode, though a tragedy to the principals and their friends. Piracy, as expounded by Bellamy, Blackbeard Bradish, Thatch and Tew, kept tongues wagging. They wagged all the faster when, according to current rumor, Governor Lord Bellomont and Captain Kidd, who had been hired to stamp out piracy, had fallen by the way and formed an unholy business alliance to divide the spoils. This, however, was not proved, and after Kidd, shipped to England by Bellomont, swung from the gallows, all evidence against the colonial governor was consigned to oblivion with the pirate's unshrived soul. Research, however, has demonstrated the innocence of Kidd in some cases and the use made of him by those "higher up."

New England suffered keenly from pirates that scoured the Seven Seas seeking prey and plunder. The Moor, Spaniard, Chinaman, Malay, and free lance English buccaneer often crossed swords with Yankee crews and frequently met annihilation. President Fillmore's ancestor was notable as a victor over pirates.

Piracy was a grave menace to descendants of the forefathers when ploughing the "raging main," on the high seas, and again at times the near-seas. Captain Kidd, that

sea-rover of the eighteenth century, posed as a New Yorker. He owned one of the finest houses in the city, at 119-121 Pearl Street, near Hanover Square. Without fear or favor



JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY, WHO AWAKENED JONATHAN EDWARDS AND GEORGE WHITEFIELD, WHO IN TURN SPONSORED NEW ENGLAND'S "GREAT AWAKENING."

he is said to have captured for his own advantage merchantmen of many lands and made men of many nations, as well as his own countrymen, "walk the plank." In the home

on Manhattan of this versatile victim—today used as a restaurant—the general public may find refreshment and indulge in eerie retrospection within walls that often echoed with the wild rover's yarns and quips of varied strain in

keeping with the broad license of the time.

The work of the two world- and age-famous preachers in America led to The Great Awakening in the eighteenth century.

During Governor Shirley's long official term from 1741 to 1756, one finds that eloquent George



A PURITAN FILLING "NIGHT CAPS."

Whitefield paid two or three visits to Boston. These were in addition to that of 1740, which was under the patronage of his friend, Governor Jonathan Belcher, the man of literary tastes, who knew the entire works of Shakespeare by heart. Each visit of the great preacher stirred the deepest waters of men's souls. Boston was thoroughly aroused to its religious needs and during this revival Whitefield's burning eloquence prodigally fed the flames which melted the most obdurate or coldly intellectual nature. It was strong-minded Benjamin Franklin who said to himself at first, when he heard Whitefield plead for funds in Boston, "not a single penny will I place in the contribution box." Nevertheless, he became so interested that first his coppers, then his silver, and at last his gold was given freely. He left the meeting-

house moneyless, but beaming with the joy unspeakable of a newly-awakened soul.

Jonathan Edwards, the colonial preacher and metaphysician, was one of the brightest lights of the American pulpit. The vulgar tradition current among the partially informed holds only because of a single logical but disquiet-

Benjamin son of Josiah.

Franklin & Abigail his wife

ing passage in one of his sermons, while they ignore the hundreds of tender and winsome messages by which he inspired men to live nobler lives. Not one American intellect surpasses that of Edwards in acuteness and depth of reasoning. For a century or more his was the only colonial name known to the whole of scholarly Europe.

Franklin's father and mother, Josiah and Abigail, attended the Old South Church one Sabbath morning. In the afternoon Benjamin was born, and before the rays of the setting sun had gilded the home roof-tree, Benjamin's soul was theoretically saved by the simple baptismal rite, performed in the Old South Church on Washington Street, by which he was consecrated to the service of God. This infant became in time the best known American of his day, if not of all days, at home and abroad, and one of the most remarkable men of any age or nation.* When the two hundredth anniversary of his birth was celebrated in Philadelphia almost all civilizations, including several from Asia, were represented, the proceedings being recorded in several octavo volumes. Some of his descendants, male and female, at that time received special honors. The editor represented the Asiatic Society of Japan.

* Franklin wherever placed was a second Washington. He held our hands aloft amid friend and foe across the sea, while the Virginian closed the gate at home from successful invasion.

This Great Awakening, distinguished from many minor so-called Awakenings, was specially sponsored by the two divines, Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield. Coevally, John and Charles Wesley were laboring in the gospel



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, OUR WASHINGTON ABROAD

field in Georgia. The Methodists were so named by Wesley's college-mates on account of his methodical habits when at Oxford. To that meeting on Boston Common where Whitefield, backed by governmental presence and indorsement, preached to thirty thousand persons, Plymouth sent a liberal quota to swell the crowd, which far outnumbered Boston's entire population.

COMING OF THE REVOLUTION

Reading more fully Plymouth Town meeting records one notes an order:

"To procure us a new Bell for the Meeting House and if necessary to send home to England for one"; in 1733, "that the Meeting House be repaired where it is needful and particularly to do something about the Deacons seat"; in 1742, "to accept the Reports of the Committee Relating to ye Erecting a Breast work and Platform on Coles Hill"; in 1744, "That whereby ye Meeting Houses are endangered by Being set on fire and consumed it is hereby voted that each person Leaving his or her stove in any of the Meeting Houses in sd Town after the People are all gone (But ye Saxton) shall forfeit & Pay ye sum of Five shillings."

In 1754 it was voted in reference to an "Excise Bill passed by the House of Representatives & the Counsell Respecting an Excise upon Private Families for Rum, Wine & C consumed therein . . . that ye sd Bill is disagreeable to the Town as it appears unequal and unjust and had a Tendency to Destroy ye natural Rights and Privileges of Every Individual In the Government"; in 1768, that "the Representatives be Directed to Endeavor all in his power at the General Court to prevent an Excise being layd

on Spiritous Liquor in this Province"; in 1769, "to Dig a Well fourteen feet, to be for the Common Use of the town"; in 1770, "to build a powder house for the town's powder & for private property"; in 1771, to allow a mill to be built on the Town Brook for "the leather dressing business or that of manufacturing deere skins & sheep skins."

When George III and his corrupt Parliament started a tempest in the "land of the free and the home of the brave," he found that it was far from being confined to a question over a tea tax. In March, 1765, came the Stamp Act to roil the independent colonists, who peremptorily challenged its legality and appealed to the law, which is older than kings.

On September 1, 1765, the Colonial House of Representatives passed the famous Bill of Rights, Plymouth sending its warmest approval and backing up its representatives in the General Court by strenuous objective resolutions.

On January sixteenth, 1766, the people of Plymouth met to "Express theire esteem of and Gratitude to the town of Boston for their spirited conduct." On September nineteenth, 1768, at a town meeting held at Plymouth "a letter from the Selectmen of Boston to the Selectmen of this Town for which reason his meeting was Called, was red . . .

Plymouth's patriotism burned fiercely when Pilgrim descendants pilloried Toryism in the following resolution:

. . . That a Committee of Inspection be chose to Enquire from time to time if any person among us Shall directly or Indirectly Trade or be Concerned with the very few who now stand recorded by a vote of the towne of Boston of ye 23rd Instant as perfering theire own to the public Advantage of their Country by taking Advantage of the Generous Self denial of theire fellow Citizens & Continueing to Import Goods."



PAUL REVERE'S CONCEPT OF THE STAMP ACT.

Again, as they neared the parting of the ways between sovereign and subject, one hundred Plymouth citizens on November 24, 1772, thus succinctly gave their conception of the degeneracy of the times, and stated the necessity of standing firmly on their rights as free men:



THE PILGRIMS BUILT THEIR WIND-
MILLS ALONG DUTCH LINES.



Courtesy of H. A. Dickerman and Son, Taunton, Mass.

PROVINCETOWN ENVIRONS.

"TO THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF PLYMOUTH

"Gentlemen: We the subscribers, free holders & other inhabitants of the town of Plimouth, deeply Impressed with a sense of the unhappy situation this country is reduced to by the violation of our rights and the repeated attacks made upon our constitutions, and feeling that concern and Indignation which should animate every Honest Breast on recollecting the once Happy circumstances of this country, & now in constant viewing the present state of it where we are deprived of the rights of nature and a Constitution purchased with the blood of our Ancestors and the fair inheritance transmitted us by them, is become the prey of Vultures & Harpies who rest on the spoil



DESTROYING TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR.

of it, alarmed as we have been from time to time with taxation without our consent, with extention of Admiralty Jurisdictions, with the Quartering of soldiers here & the lawless Insolence & murders they have committee with the contemptuous and unconstitutional treatment of a General Court."

"The System of Slavery was fully compleated. But the last step taken by the administration by providing salaries for the Judges of the Superior Court has left us without any expectation of that kind, by fixing the last seal to the Despotism they have so Long endeavored to establish here, we therefore have reason to consider our situation as very Dangerous, if not Desperate, and such as require the united attention and wisdom of the whole to prevent being irretrievably fixed on us and our posterity, we therefore Desire to call a town meeting."

There were minute-men from Plymouth Colony who, with other defenders of law, trudged over ploughed fields, waded swamps, and struggled through thickets and across lots barefoot, in the decisive episodes on Lexington Common and Concord Bridge. They stood in prayer with President Langdon on Cambridge Green, fought in the redoubt thrown up overnight on Farmer Breed's pasture, bivouacked at Winter Hill, and fortified Dorchester Heights, in the dead of winter, with birch-bound bundles of hay when Washington invested Boston and compelled its evacuation

by the British, of whom he spoke and wrote as the "Ministerialists."

To stand and be counted was the Pilgrim method of meeting any issue—whether a pow-wow with Indian chiefs, infringement of rights by aggressive neighbors, crossing swords with the Dutch, or arguing with an English parlia-

*by request I give the folloing I was innot?
id the Company Comanded by Capt John Parker
who was fire^d upon the memorable morning
of the 19th of April 1775 and the last Survivor
that is left that was on the field of battle that
Memorable Morning.
Lexington the 19th 1775
Jona^s Harrington
aged 89 the 8th July
1848*

AUTOGRAPH OF JONAS HARRINGTON, THE LAST SURVIVOR OF THE LEXINGTON MINUTE-MEN, WHO DIED IN 1854, AGED 95 YEARS.

ment. In these words Plymouth pictures the unconquerable spirit of the colonists:

"We have evinc'd our Loyalty to our King, our affection to the British Government and our Mother Country on all occasions . . . Our Treasure is exhausted in the service of our Mother Country, our Trade and all the numerous Branches of Business Dependent on it Reduced & Almost Ruined By severe acts of Parliament & now we are threatened with being Loaded with Internal Taxes without our own consent or the voice of a single Representative in Parliament & with Being Deprived of that darlin Privilege of an Englishman, Trial By his Peers . . . This place, Sir, was at First the Asylum of Liberty & we hope will ever be Preserved sacred to it, though it was then no more than a Forlorn Wilderness inhabited only by savage men & Beast, to this place, our Fathers (whose memories be Rever'd) Possessed of the Principles of Liberty in their Purity, Disdaining slavery Fled, to enjoy those Privileges which they had an undoubted Right to but were Deprived of By the Hands of Violence & Oppression in their native country. We sir, their Prosperity, the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of this Town Legally assembled for that Purpose, possessed of the same sentiments & Retaining the same ardour for Liberty, think it our indispensable duty on this occasion

express to you these our Sentiments of the Stamp Act and its Fatal consequences For Relief. We Likewise, to avoid Disgracing the memories of our ancestors as well as the Reproaches of our Consciences & curses of Posterity, commend it to you to obtain if possible in the Honorable House of Repre-



STAMPS THAT SET THE WAR BALL ROLLING.

atives of the Province the Full and Explicit assertion of our rights & to ve the same entred on their Publick Records that all Generations yet to ne may be convinced that we have not only a just sense of our rights and bertys but that we never (with Submission to Devine Providence) will be : slaves of any power on Earth."

In 1774, when the thunder presaging the Revolution gan to rumble, the thirteen colonies numbered two million hites and five hundred thousand black slaves. Boston's opulation was 20,000; Philadelphia greater; that of Charles-n, South Carolina, 18,000, and New York's but 12,000. he first stage coach in the country ran between Providence

and Boston, taking two days for the journey. A year later New York and Philadelphia had a "Flier" which, in covering the ground, stretched the present hourly schedule of a two-hour transit to forty-eight hours.

As the war-cloud shadowed blacker, Plymouth, ever alert to the hour's need, voted to have a constable watch on guard, also that town clerks enter in their records the names of such persons as should by the Province be condemned and published as rebels against the State, i.e., Tories, pure and simple.



Again, on January 3, 1775, it was settled in Town Meeting that all minute-men be allowed one shilling a week, if they meet for exercise. On January 27 it was voted to procure fifty good guns and bayonets and two drums, to build a breastwork for firing cannon-shot of different sizes, and to erect a cannon. On August 14th the vote was to purchase all the powder in town, and "to engage a number of persons to take care of the battery and the guns." On January twenty-ninth a committee was appointed "to make experiments and find out the easiest method to make saltpeter," and to confer with the neighboring towns "in petitioning the General Court to build a fort for the defence of this town and harbour." On February 12th they voted "to petition his Excellency, Generall Washington, Desiring him to assist us to build a fort for the defence of this harbor."

The Queen's Guard was quartered by orders from General Gage in Marshfield under Captain Balfour at the beginning of the Revolution, to protect the property and person of certain prominent Tories, including Edward Winslow,* a

* This same Edward Winslow, grandson of the rare and good, piloted Lord Percy's troops when they were rushed from Boston to save Major Pitcairn's force from annihilation at Lexington and Concord, doing his best to destroy his countrymen.

descendant of Governor Edward Winslow. Had they persisted in their purpose of marching into Plymouth, with the idea of intimidation, that first "shot heard round the world" would undoubtedly have been fired by the minute-men of Pilgrim descent, on Plymouth's Town Square, fronting Burial Hill and the Fort Church site, instead of those drawn up on Lexington Common in front of the Old Bell Tower.

Discretion stopped this march, for the entire command could have been easily captured by Colonel Cotton and his one thousand Continentals. Halting at such drastic measures, which might be premature, since these self-controlled men felt war was still avertible, the English troops were allowed to march back to the protection of their comrades in Boston, though the conflict had already begun at Lexington. The temper of Plymouth was clearly shown when, before hostilities began, a few citizens threatened by a British officer took away his sword—insultingly shattering it before his eyes. If the half-open door of the apothecary shop of the royalist, Dr. Hicks, had not served as a haven of refuge, British official dignity and person might have shared the same full measure of indignity as its sword.

In 1774 preparation for that War of Independence went on at white heat in all the thirteen colonies. Pilgrim Town, as from its beginning, was ready and her men clamored for a place in the first line, through the Committee of Correspondence. On September 30, 1774, Plymouth thus advised its representatives in Boston assembled as to the sentiments of the Home Guard:

"1. That the People in this Province are Intitled to the rights that the people of Great Brittain can claim by Nature & their Constitutions.

"2. That the rights they are entitled to have been violently and most injuriously Infracted by the Parliament of Great Brittain and the Administration of Government there . . .

"3. That one providing of the support of the Judges of the Superior Court of this Province in any other manner than by free Grants of the people

is an Infraction of the highest nature & tends of itself to destroy every idea of a free Government in this Province as ever took place in any country.

"4. That our Representatives be & hereby are Instructed to unite in such measures as shall place the Judges of the Supream Court of Justice of this Province upon a Constitutional Basis & make, when that be done, a suitable Provision for their Support.



John Adams

"5. That in the opinion of this town the United thanks and Grateful acknowledgements of every individual who is a friend of the Constitution of this country & the Interest of posterity is due to the Vigilance & spirit of the Inhabitants of the town of Boston upon this & many other occasions.

"6. That this report be put upon the Records of this Town there to stand as a Publick monument of the sence the Inhabitants have of their Rights and of their Determination at all times as occasion & opportunity may offer, assert, Vindicate & support them."

All this shows clearly that instead of rebellion our fathers entered upon a higher obedience. It was loyalty to what was older than kings or parliaments that bade them take up arms. Magnify human faults and limitations as we or their critics may, the whole Pilgrim-Puritan movement from Tudor times may be stated in terms of positive obedience, unselfish devotion to a higher loyalty, and, what is even nobler, a willingness to suffer for what was deemed the right. This was the true inwardness of Separatism, whether in church or state. We repeat, theirs throughout was a positive, not a negative movement. It never cast down without building up.



JAMES OTIS, JR., WHOSE ORATION HAD MUCH TO DO WITH LAUNCHING THE REVOLUTION.

In place of ruins it reared the lordly structure we see and enjoy today, based on law, self-control and freedom.

After the war game had fairly opened one finds that on May 21, 1776, the Plymouth representatives to the General



Court were instructed that "As we have this day chose you to represent us in the Great and General Court of this Colony and as matters of the Greatest Importance must necessarily come before you in the Course of this year, we, your Constituents (having an undoubted Right), do instruct and in the most Solemn manner charge you that you use all your influence, that you exert Every power in you Vested in Defence of the Rights, the Libertys and the Propertys of the American Colonies in General and of this Colony in Particular in opposition to the impious effort of the proud, the Imperious and worse than Savage Court of Great Brittian which seems to be lost to Every Sense of Justice and determined to deluge all America in Blood and Carnage unless we by a tame, unmanly Submission will put ourselves in their power to be Controlled by them as they please in all Cases Whatsoever . . . We, Your Constituents, resenting such insolent and Notoriously unjust demands of the British Parliament and of their Tyrrannie King do Instruct you 1st That you, without Hesitation, be ready to declare for Independence of Great Brittian in whom no Confidence can be placed, Provided the Honorable, the Continental Congress shall think that measure necessary, and we for our parts so assure you that we will stand by the Determination of the Continentall."

The Revolutionary War bound the Thirteen colonies

together as "with hooks of steel." England's richest outlying possession, America, had one corporate body for the general good, each colony in its Congress having equal vote, yet each being entirely separate as to individual rights and government. All this was symbolized in the flag of thirteen stripes which flew on the breeze from January 2, 1776, to June 15, 1779.

In two hundred years we had in this rock-bound land a mighty nation of thrift-driven people. Gauged by known historical records, it would take ordinarily one thousand years to reach this result from so meagre a beginning.

The prediction by that eighteenth century astrologer of a victorious American nation crowned with a future far beyond the wildest dreams of Pilgrim Empire Builders, definitely pictured a glorious outcome to the Revolutionary War even before farmers' flint-locks spoke on Lexington Common.

From astrology to eerie-land is but a step and the prophetic utterances of the Fox sisters in the year 1848 stirred with wonder many of the populace. In like manner Margaret Rule, in her day, astounded stiff-necked and stiff-creeded Puritans, with phenomena that have ever puzzled the race, in New England becoming a fester-thorn in the flesh of the Elect, and in a measure sponsoring the witchcraft delusion.

Strange were the comings and goings that formed New England's famous eighty-six-year Cyclic-Coincidence, interwoven with the unique history of our unique land. It was eighty-six years from Martin Pring's camping out on Clark's Island, in Plymouth Harbor, in 1603, to that Andros Revolution in Boston on April 19, 1669, which included evacuation of that same Clark's Island, the property of the Pilgrims. The second cycle swung into that next important eighty-six years, commencing April 19, 1775, when "embattled farmers" fired that effective shot heralding America's

Revolution. With fire-flashing eye they bent o'er the blood-soaked sod of Lexington Common. Both events were the forecast of a new plan of justice to the race. President Harding's words on August 1, 1921, near the rock, forecasting a world brotherhood to issue from this union of forty-eight states, foreshadowing a union of all nations, have a true foundation in American history. The span of the third cycle of eighty-six years touched April 19, 1861, when the pavement of Baltimore glistened red with the blood of Massachusetts' sacrificial offering.

"A blush as of roses,
Where roses never grew;
Great drops on the bunch-grass,
But not of the dew;
A taint in the sweet air
For wild bees to shun;
A stain that shall never
Bleach out in the sun."

What April 19, 1947, will bring to crown America is anyone's prediction, but that the time intervening will see dynamic changes in men and measures, more radical than those of the past and of far reaching import, needs neither an Elijah nor a Samuel to foretell. Was it coincidence that two prominent Boston ministers preached from the same text, on the same communion Sunday, and died on the same day, at the same hour of the same disease?

Again, was it coincidence that made September 17 a pivotal day in the affairs of the nation? On September 17, 1643, was consummated the union of New England colonies, and on September 17, 1787, nearly one hundred and fifty years afterward, was adopted the Constitution of the United States. Again, how bonnet strings must have fluttered and the few remaining queued periwigs bobbed in greeting as good man and good dame heard that the two idolized ex-

presidents, John Quincy Adams, the Colossus of Congress, and Thomas Jefferson, were both "called" on the same day, July 4, 1826, exactly fifty years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Again, why did not the whole power of the State line up, when it was an unwritten crime to question the elective sovereignty of the people, or to doubt an honest count, when the Governor of Massachusetts, Marcus Morton, was chosen to his high office by a single majority vote?

The wheel of time played some queer antics with our ancestors. Not only did the marriage of the children of Winthrop and Dudley stamp peace across two quarrelsome households, but descendants of Pastor Welde intermarried with those of Ann Hutchinson, whom he denounced as an American Jezebel, at her famous trial in Cambridge before Governor Winthrop.

The granddaughter of Captain John Linzee of the frigate *Lively* that fought at Bunker Hill married W. H. Prescott, grandson of Colonel William Prescott, whose famous order in a famous battle bids fair to live in history as long as men read. Well do the swords, crossed not with sparks of fire or dripping with blood, but lying on a bed of leaves and flowers in the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society of Boston, Massachusetts, symbolize the union of the English speaking nations.

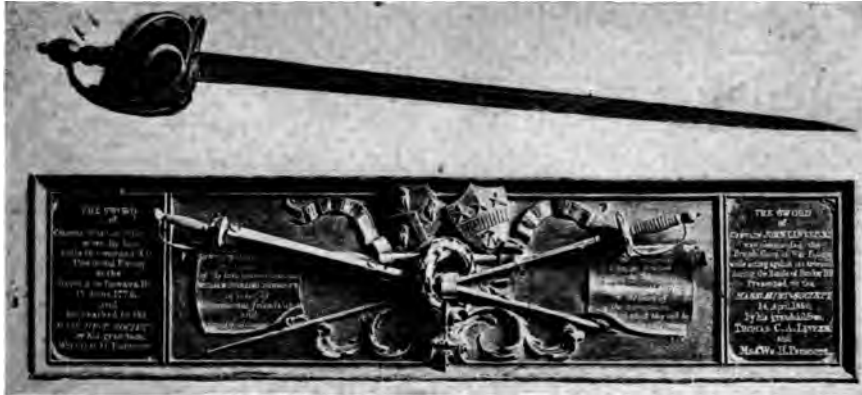
"THE CROSSED SWORDS"

"Kept crossed by gentlest bands,
Emblems no more of battle, but of peace;
And proof how love can grow and war can cease,
Their one stern symbol stands.

* * * * *

"The archives of the past
So smeared with blots of hate and bloody wrong;
Pining for peace and sick to wait so long
Hail this meek cross at last."

The only use Plymouth had for Tories was to pester them out of town. One Dunbar, who exposed for sale in the public square an ox butchered by a Tory, was cased in the carcass of the freshly slaughtered "beef Critter" and paraded



Courtesy of Houghton, Mifflin Co.

SWORDS THAT CROSSED IN WAR AND PEACE.

through the streets. It was as if he were "tarred and feathered and carried in a cart" after the precedent of Floyd Ireson. Both Dunbar and his family were smoked into the open by a plugged chimney, as punishment for the insult to his townspeople. The Tories of Plymouth certainly had a hard time of it, and the most rabid Royalists left for Canada. In not a few cases these men of conscience and patriotism, as they saw it, had to run the gauntlet of missile and insult on the way northward.

Not until our own day have scholars and unprejudiced historians, English, American, and Canadian, expressed the fully investigated truth on both sides. Thousands of their descendants fought side by side with our boys in the great world war. In the day of perhaps justifiable anger and passion Whig and Tory hated each other with equal fervor, whether they were church zealots, heretics, or out and out heathen, as in the case of all civil wars of every age. Occasionally, then as now, blood relatives showed greater hatred than mere acquaintances, notably in the case of Benjamin Franklin and his Tory son William.

RÉSUMÉ

Let us in imagination mingle with those first men of Pilgrim blood as we see them arrayed, before bidding adieu to the cape of many names. We stroll up Leyden street through that first thoroughfare in South New England, and clamber to the roof of Plymouth's Fort Church, that crowned Burial Hill. Leaning on one of the six cannon, popularly dubbed "murderers" that were hoisted into place by the Pilgrims, we scan sea and land. At our feet lies Coale's Hill, that consecrated First God's Acre of the Pilgrim Fathers. At the little pier swinging with the tide near where the "towne" brooklet meets the bay is moored the shallop that came between decks in the Mayflower. Fishermen are dipping out shad twixt the two dams; brown-garbed Pilgrims are working in the fields, while a group of gew-gaw-mad Indians squabble amid the thrifty colonist barterers.

In the foreground juts that real Plymouth Rock, whose cap was removed in 1775 by patriots as an exhaust valve to let off the steam of their fervor, and dragged up town. It split during the journey, though no crack could be seen.

Workers were horror-struck, until some quick-witted spectator looked upon it as a miraculous omen, proving permanent severance from the Mother Country—a solution well calculated to ease the minds of the fracturers. Later it was carried still farther into the town, then returned, cemented near its original site, and in the Tercentenary year lowered to the level where the Pilgrims found it.

Off shore a mile away is Clark's Island which Governor Andros vainly attempted to wrest from those who held it, hoping to transfer it permanently to the Crown. There the Pilgrims passed that memorable Sunday. Beyond is the open sea, and far over its bosom the land of Pilgrim nativity. In grasping physical surroundings one also takes the measure of the Pilgrim soul. "By their works ye shall know them." It is only through studying from the outset his English, more especially his Dutch, and later still his Indian environment that one may really know the man.



Courtesy of State Street Trust Co., Boston, Mass.

SIGNING THE PILGRIM COMPACT.



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SESSION OF THE GENERAL COURT AT THE FOUNDING OF HARVARD COLLEGE—GOVERNOR VANE HOLDING IN HIS HAND THE ACT APPROPRIATING FOUR HUNDRED POUNDS "FOR A SCHOOL OR COLLEGE."

In restricted measure we stand in the Pilgrim's place, view with his eyes and meet with his conscience the issues of the hour. The glint of gold blinds the ordinary discoverer; the glory of conquest and possession too frequently seizes and crushes the finer instincts of the explorer, but the study of true history enlarges the soul.

Here we have a people of *one mind*, believing and acting as one, while they pass through strenuous experiences. The phrase "New England stock" for centuries has been fraught with deep meaning. With religion a personal matter and household law supreme, as well as a war cry, the Pilgrim path was extremely narrow and thorn-edged, but his descendants' highway is long and beautiful because of it. Roots are concentrated; flowers expand.

These examples of the Pilgrim's mental and spiritual procedure took on at times phases that would have delighted a humorist like Washington Irving, had his pen been flashed first on the New Englander, before he caricatured the New Netherlander. To fine an old soldier for wetting a piece of cast-off felt hat in order to slip it surreptitiously into his shoe on Sunday, that his bunion-decorated feet might carry him to the meeting-house with some degree of comfort, seems harsh treatment. The tithing man, sentinel of the meeting-house, ever vigilant, caught the criminal.

Each Pilgrim tithing man had the religious oversight of ten families in charge. He saw to it that these were present in church, or he knew the reason why. He heard



LEYDEN STREET IN PLYMOUTH, MASS.

the children's catechism, and in many instances—for there were all sorts—he was a character very repellent to both rising and risen generations. He it was who detected Gudeman Chase and his wife picking peas on Sunday, and another man—his name lost in oblivion—heinously pulling apples. Did any of the fines go the tithing man's way to keep him keyed to concert pitch? asks the skeptic.

Unless human nature, which is much the same in every age and clime, were in this case abnormal, both skeptic and admirer might truthfully answer "yes."



A PLYMOUTH ALLEY.

For in all this there was nothing peculiarly local or Separatistic or Puritanical, for the Sunday and church laws in "earlier" Virginia were equally severe. It was an English and Roman Catholic inheritance, and not an American in-



Courtesy of Chase and Sanborn.

VIEWING THE SAND DUNES FROM
OFFSHORE.

vention. In fact, New England history in the main seems only slightly different to those who know the details of life in other colonies. All the English-speaking colonies suffered from a like incubus of inheritances.

Omens worked vividly on the minds of these intensely religious folk. For example, at the outbreak of the Revolution, the whole town was thrown into a ferment and set agog because some eggs were found under a hen miraculously (?) lettered "O, America, Howe shall be thy conqueror." The theory at first accepted was soon evaporated when home-bred common sense suggested the improbability of the Lord's taking an insignificant hen to reveal His will.

Within the meeting house were special seats for deacons and elders, following the fashion long established in the French and Dutch churches, in which the Pilgrims were always welcome and to the members of which they gave greetings when in Leyden.

Within the door was a sentinel's seat, where an armed colonist sat, ever a silent reminder of possible Indian invasion. To some even to kneel in prayer savored of Rome; suppliants before the Throne of Grace always stood—at



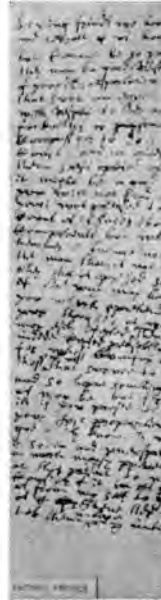
LETTERS FROM THE HOME LAND.

PREPARING FOR REVOLUTIONARY

least in public. Others had in mind Paul's "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free," and they obeyed the command literally. On many occasions prayers were made in continuance of the sermon, gauged sometimes by two or three upturns of the pulpit hour glass. Standing was well in line with other things that in later days of luxury were deemed hardships. Pilgrims differed widely from early Puritans in that all of age and might vote, whether church members or not, though more than one quarrelsome person tried to adopt the iron-clad Puritan rule of merging State and Church. The first Tuesday in March was Town Meeting day, when each was privileged to speak his mind. Self government told the story, and the law and the testimony made no sense. Even Pilgrim Christianity was liberally



THE BLESSING BEFORE AND AFTER MEALS.



LETTER OF G. O. PLYMOUTH

"eye for an eye" and "tooth for a tooth." Old Testament. Hebrew literature and the Puritan interpretation as it came to fulfilment.

At first the both men and women and even somber of strong canvas leathern trousers they wore knee

and shoes well strapped and resplendent with metal buckles, while women were garbed in finer attire, though still of sombre hue. Later, silk, satin, ribbon, lace, and varied furbelows fostered pride and love of adornment in both sexes. The dress or worker's uniform, with which the average mod-



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SIGNING THE COMPACT IN THE MAYFLOWER'S CABIN.

ern cartoonist and caricaturist clothes the stage Puritan, was hardly in general use. Wills and inventories show a great variety of gowns, coats, and decorative property. Each church organization was independent of its fellows. It was headed by the pastor or teaching elder, who administered the sacrament and attended to other spiritual needs of its members. Next in line were ruling elders or presbyters, in charge of the parish, and thirdly the deacons, caretakers of the poor, who also saw that church expenses were paid, and who ministered at the Lord's Table. Yet among all these Free Churchmen and independent organizations was a strong spirit of mutual helpfulness and fraternity.

When love of service failed to hold the Pilgrim in the

narrow path, the tithing man rounded up and forced delinquent age and frivolous childhood to fall in line and sit beneath the "drippings of the sanctuary."

The angry Saxon obeyed the tenets of his faith and ever quelled his wrath at sunset, which vastly smoothed bickerings and ill feeling.

The Nemesis that according to the ungodly pursued the Pilgrim seemed to the purblind worldling amazingly diligent, but the Pilgrim himself, buoyed by conviction of the righteousness of his cause, though discouragements were legion—even at times bordering martyrdom—persevered to the end. To those who revel in proving that success often arises from apparent failure, the tortuous pilgrimage of the Pilgrim was ideal journeying.

In the Pilgrim's case, persecution certainly helped, not hindered, Christianity. At every turn he faced disaster. It required the prolonged period of twenty-five years to extin-



JOHN ALDEN AND PRISCILLA MULLENS.

guish the debt that like a fire-breathing dragon threatened at times to swallow home and belongings. Between conflict with the elements—fire, flood, and earthquake—varied by prison, the menace of famine, the pestilence that walked in both light and darkness, a continuous skirmish with the duplicity and innate wickedness of his fellows, men on both sides of the



MYLES STANDISH, HIS DAUGHTER LOREA, AND HOBOMOK, IN THE CAPTAIN'S HOME.



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THE USUAL DUCKING SCENE WHERE THE VICTIM WAS A WOMAN.

sea, the loss of ships freighted with the fruits of his toil, and occasional hard won trouble with the Indians—he had few idle hours as guests.

The Hebraic law in the Old Testament was largely his guide, mellowed at times with the promises of the New covenant. Those pages that bristled with such texts as "Put not your trust in princes," "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes," were very familiar reading. In that form of judicial murder, under which the tribal custom put to death one with "a familiar spirit"—long interpreted as a divine command—the Pilgrim did not follow the example of his Puritan brother. He omitted from his practice such relics of ancient law. Those pages of the Bible on which they both read such human exhortations and divine promises as these: "Let us make a joyful noise unto the rock of our salvation"; "The Lord knoweth them that are His," and hundreds of others of like nature, were ear-marked and curl-edged through frequent and sonorous readings, long drawn-out dissertations, and often hour-long prayers.

To the modern man, with a thousand distractions and



ST. BOTOLPH'S AT BOSTON, ENG. REV. JOHN WILSON, REV. JOHN COTTON, AND MANY PROMINENT LAYMEN CAME FROM THIS CHURCH TO THE THATCHED ROOF CHURCH IN BOSTON, MASS.

recreations, the length of these religious exercises furnishes food for jest. "The full soul loatheth an honeycomb," but the hungry think the plainest food a feast. There were good reasons in those times for the length of the sermon.

Professing and non-professing Christians were both church-goers. One set was incomplete without the other, in this respect being on much the same basis as the church and society of the present day. The church was not the building, but the spiritual organization. The edifice was spoken of as a "meeting-house," where man met his Creator. It was used for secular as well as religious gatherings.



THE FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON, MASS., LOCATED ON LONG FISH STREET NEAR THE

Another name was the steeple-house. At three o'clock on Saturday afternoon children felt what to them was the approaching shadow of a solemn day. To some of them the Sabbath was not a day of joy, nor was any other occasion which requires stillness and abstinence from those bodily activities which young animal natures crave. Their elders, however, delighted in physical quiet after toil. They were comforted also in view of the future glory and heavenly promises of everlasting bliss shining forth through a precise, so-called religious, observance of the day—for a prevalent thought, as one Pilgrim expressed it, was "Our God is a precise God," and the sect "Precisionists" came from this thought. The reaction against the licentiousness and hypocrisy of mediæval inheritances was often extreme.

He knows very little of church history who imagines that either Calvin or the Puritan invented "blue laws," or severity in ecclesiastical custom. The Puritan found Europe intolerant. He did not make it so, nor did he carry to America anything new. He simply, with the exigent conscience of a reformer, attempted to carry as his inheritance and to put in practise what had come down to him from the past by force of custom. To do differently would have hurt both his instinct and his conscience. The sternness of Romanism was far more terrible than all the "blue laws" and extremes and fanatical folly even justly charged to the Puritans. In their full total they never could equal the horror and deviltry of a papal interdict.

As the colony spread out and new churches were formed, fresh issues were presented. The new-fangled idea and question, "Shall we fiddle the hymns of God"? divided the church, compromised in one instance by holding the fiddle upside down while singing. The non-professing Christian, though possibly with less alacrity, paid church dues equal to those of the sanctified, and both groups worked for the betterment of the cause. In time, also, as the

incubus of inheritance was lifted, and the devout as well as the wordly, learned wisdom, and as the real Christians read the Old Testament in the light of the New, the theological climate became more temperate and less given to extremes. The greatest of American musical composers arose by a genuine evolution in New England.

It was ruled that ministers must not shave from Saturday to Monday. A bell in the belfry as soon as it could be afforded, succeeding the primitive horn or drum, called the people to the meeting-house twice on Lord's Day. There they waited generally on the outside until the domine, in skull-cap and flowing-gown, strode over the threshold, shortly to commence the three-hour service—for the Pilgrim ever gave good measure in whatever he undertook. Nor in that time of hunger for spiritual en-

lightenment and Biblical truth was this deemed too long a service. It would be absurd to judge the situation of 1640 by the comforts and luxuries of our day of steam printing presses and periodicals that are advertising media for making known Fashion's overplus of things desired, but not indispensable.

The first seats in the meeting-houses were those made in frontier-fashion, not the sort used in Old World palaces, but the roughest kind of back-breaking benches. Later



THE BRATTLE ORGAN WHICH UPSET A TOWN AND DISORGANIZED A CHURCH.

square, high-fenced-in pews were sometimes used, conveniently screening restless, sleepy children and "nappy" elders. Yet the very word and thing—pews—were true symbols of family religion that could thrive without priest, mass, or confession. In a word, judged in the light of today, religion had turned away from the sacrificial to the teaching form; from visible symbols to inward reality.

To the Nonconformist the Holy Sabbath was fearfully holy. Within three-score years of this hour the radical believer in infant baptism preached the doctrine that hell was paved with unsaved infants' skulls—which was a direct inheritance from Romanism. In Copp's Hill burying-ground, Boston, Massachusetts, is shown a tomb set aside for the burial of unregenerate, unbaptized infants in unhallowed ground. One man of God carried his subjective belief so far that he refused to baptize infants who dared risk an earth journey on the Holy Sabbath, but for family reasons he was obliged to occult this awry viewpoint, when his wife bore twins on the Day of Days. Caesarian operations meant to a true Puritan the death of the mother and the saving of the unbaptized infant. It was sincerely believed by many (and in their heart of hearts as sincerely denied—even as the conscience of the chaste mother in the days of the Roman Empire recoiled at the legal and fashionable gods) that this dogma of infant damnation—originated by celibate monks and priests—had no basis in the teaching of Jesus. Gradually it disappeared from modern confessions of faith.

The same spirit, in deep grooves of Sabbatarianism inherited from Jews, and not from Him who said "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," was shown when the Pilgrim housewife barred the brewing of beer on Saturday to prevent the seething liquor from "working" on the Lord's Day.

The religious attitude mapped out by the Elect divorced the new belief from the mediæval in every possible

way, especially in affairs of the home—birth, marriage, death and burial. The early Pilgrim and Puritan—with full trust in their Redeemer and in contempt of priestcraft that tyrannized even over the grave with ghoulisn delight—never held services over the dead. Marriages were per-



SCENES FROM MODERN PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND.

formed by magistrates and the marriage ring was abolished, for the good reason which Bradford gives—that it was a relic of Roman paganism. Thus all along the line were maintained wide divergences between old and new customs. Nine-tenths of the motive power in all this—even in going

to absurd extremes—was the hatred of corporations that claimed the human being, from its pre-natal life into the next world, and invented a purgatory over which priest-craft held financial control. “Even the tortures of hell are



DRAKE ISLAND IN PLYMOUTH HARBOR, ENGLAND.

graded according to money paid,” and “Happy is the man whose father has gone to the devil”—because the heir of property not willed to the church or monastery—are very ancient proverbs. In the judgment of Separatists, “Have faith in God,” was interpreted by Roman and Anglican corporations to mean, “Have faith in us, as God’s vicars on earth.” Hence, “the freedom wherewith Christ hath made us free,” as glorified by the Free Churchmen.

The link connecting those Gainsborough meetings in 1602 and those of Scrooby in 1605—echoing Robert Brown’s teachings in Norwich in 1576, the outcome of his apprenticeship in that London church once shepherded by Robert Fitz—with that final confederation called the United Colonies of New England, in 1643—a span of forty-one years—was knotted, twisted, and at times, raveled close to the breaking point its entire length. Outgrowing the pyre and gibbet of Smithfield shambles, jail was the penalty in 1602, with many relapses through the following years. Then came the abrupt setback at Olde Boston-on-the-Witham.

Next in the line of calamities was that heart-breaking fiasco near Grimsby, on the Humber River at Mollie Brown's Cove, with separation, jailing, and wide scattering, and the final assembling, three hundred miles to the eastward, in that welcome haven of Amsterdam. Another year saw the Pilgrims in Leyden, where some of the younger generation slipped away from the faith of their fathers through contact with the native gilded youth of the town intermarriage with the Dutch, and enlistment in the army and navy of the Republic. Then came the fixed determination to move on and found a true English settlement, in which, however, were not a few features borrowed from the Dutch Republic and unknown



HOUSES IN DARTMOUTH, ENGLAND.

in England until long afterward. The desertion of their financial representative, Weston, at the vital moment of sailing from Southampton, necessitated parting with essentials—lack of which later caused sickness and death—in order to pay many weeks of local expenditure and to accumulate that one hundred pounds required to obtain clearance papers and loose cable. Running into Dartmouth to repair the alleged leaky ship, the *Speedwell*, was another disheartener. Next came the second return to harbor, this time to Plymouth after they had been three hundred miles from Land's End and well out to sea, the *Speedwell* proving still aleak, according to the captain's

allegation only, due to being "overmasted" when refitted in Holland, though Bradford exposes with sarcasm and contempt the real reason. The relinquishment of the Leyden remnant to the London contingent through Captain Rey-



DARTMOUTH HARBOR

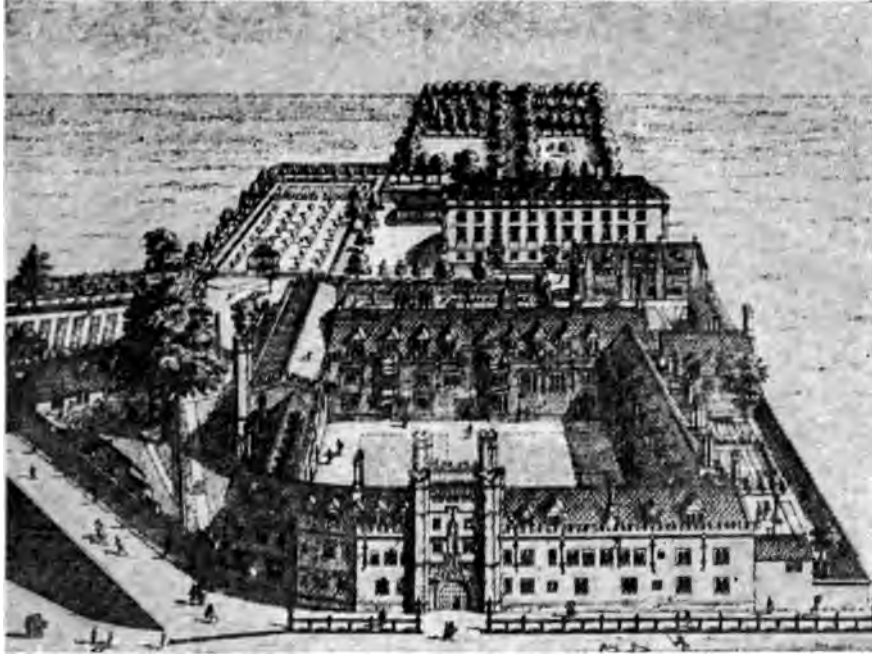
© Charles Scribner's
Sons

GREAT LAND-
LOCKED HARBORS
THESE OF DART-
MOUTH AND
PLYMOUTH THAT
SAW THE AR-
RIVAL AND DE-
PARTURE OF THE
PILGRIMS.



PLYMOUTH HARBOR, ENGLAND.

nolds' trickery, and the grumbling of sailors followed. The journey of about sixty-six days in the *Mayflower*, overloaded with several times its normal carrying-capacity of passengers, was tempestuous, and the buckling of a great plank through a splitting beam, the danger of foundering, the circumventing of a mutiny among the non-Leyden colonists, the signing of the Compact ere landing, requiring specious argument, and planned to curb outspoken discontent, and



CHRIST COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, WHERE PURITANS THROGGED AND DISCUSSED THE TENETS OF THEIR FAITH.



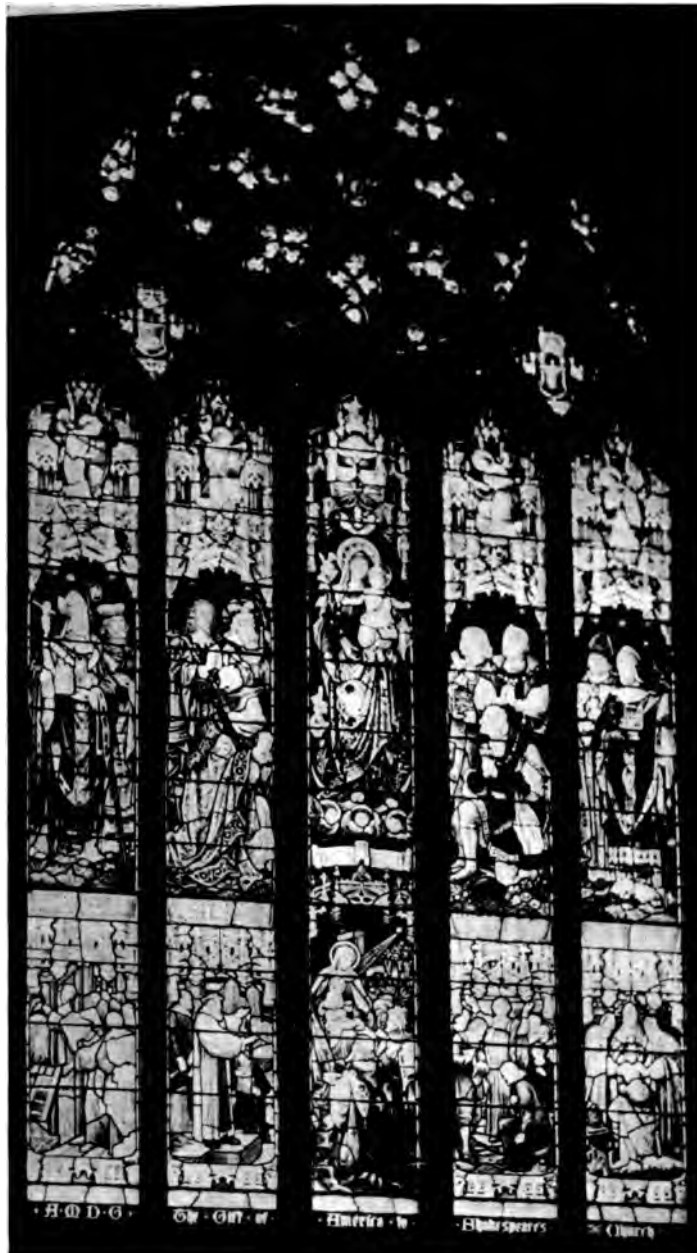
GUY FAWKES AND FELLOW CONSPIRATORS ATTEMPTING TO BLOW UP JAMES I AND PARLIAMENT. IF SUCCESSFUL, THIS MIGHT HAVE RADICALLY CHANGED PILGRIM HISTORY.

the bare escape from wreck on the outer bar at Cape Cod, were exciting incidents.

Even after reaching their Land of Promise, troubles many and severe pursued them, for the Death Angel showed no mercy until he had harvested nearly fifty per cent of the little company within two months of their arrival; more men even than women, though of the latter the most competent and useful. Later, two thousand Narragansett Indians peremptorily challenged to a fight that meant extermination the fifty or sixty pioneer Englishmen—those first true home-builders of the mighty host in time to follow. All these discouragements were bravely met, faced, and grappled with, and all of them save Death were overmastered by these intrepid souls, yet still the black list continued to grow. That shipment of furs, clapboards, and sassafras to the London stockholders, sent with all the glow of pride of a first payment by a vessel misnamed *The Fortune*, proved to the pessimist that the evil genius hounding the Separatists was unvanquished. The wreckage, repair, and return to England of the pinnacle, *Little James*, sent out as a fishing craft, prevented the community from making another partial payment, as it was captured by the French.

Another loss was that of the *Lion* with its invoice of furs and products valued at eight hundred pounds, also intended as payment to discontented, nagging London stockholders. Foundering in mid ocean, a death list added sorrow to the financial disaster.

Weston's duplicity annoyed the Pilgrims at every turn. The arrival of sixty hard characters on the *Charity* and *Swan*, sent by Weston to undermine the settlement and under-trade with the Indians; the stealing of green corn and trampling down of the growth (a loss that later almost brought famine); embroilment with the Indians, ending in the slaughter of *Wituwamat*, made, with others, an accumulation of disasters that came to them through Weston's un-



THE WINDOW IN STRATFORD CHURCH PURCHASED BY FEES FROM AMERICAN VISITORS. ARCHBISHOP LAUD, PERSECUTOR OF PURITANS, IS PORTRAYED IN THIS WINDOW AS WORTHY OF HONOR IN THE SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA.



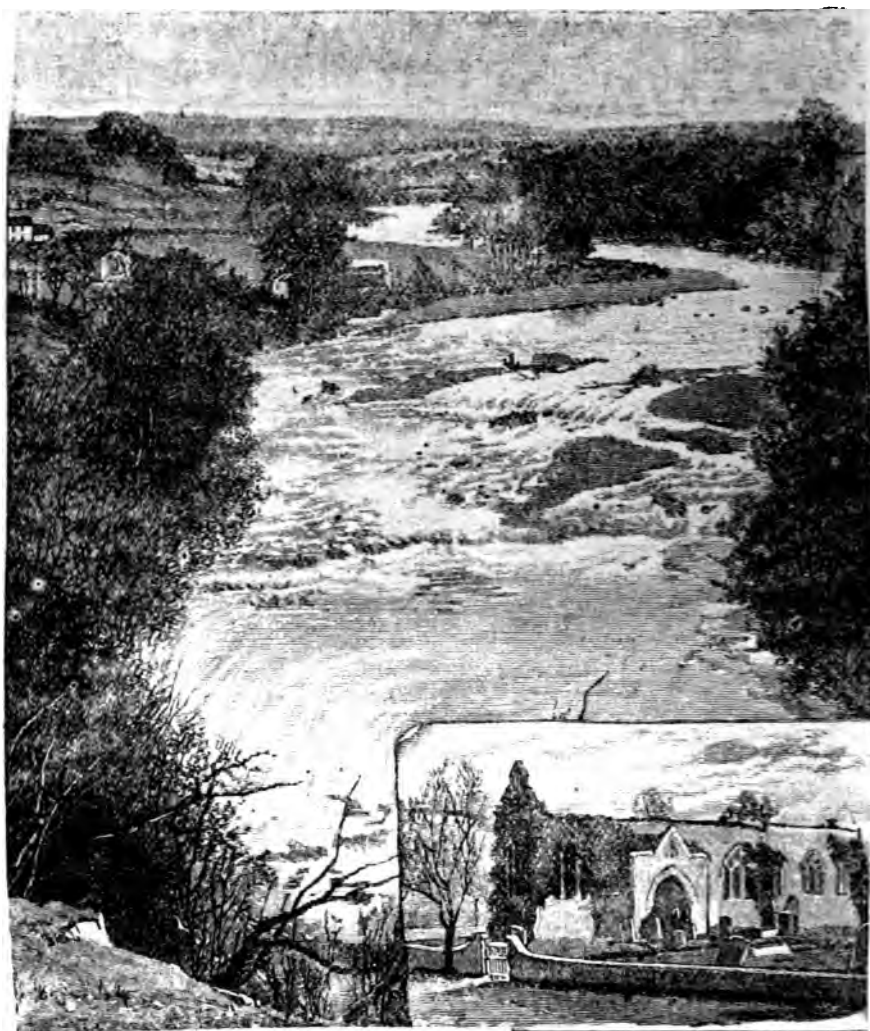
IN THIS TWIN-SPIRED CHURCH AT SOUTHWELL EDWYN SANDYS FREQUENTLY WORSHIPPED.



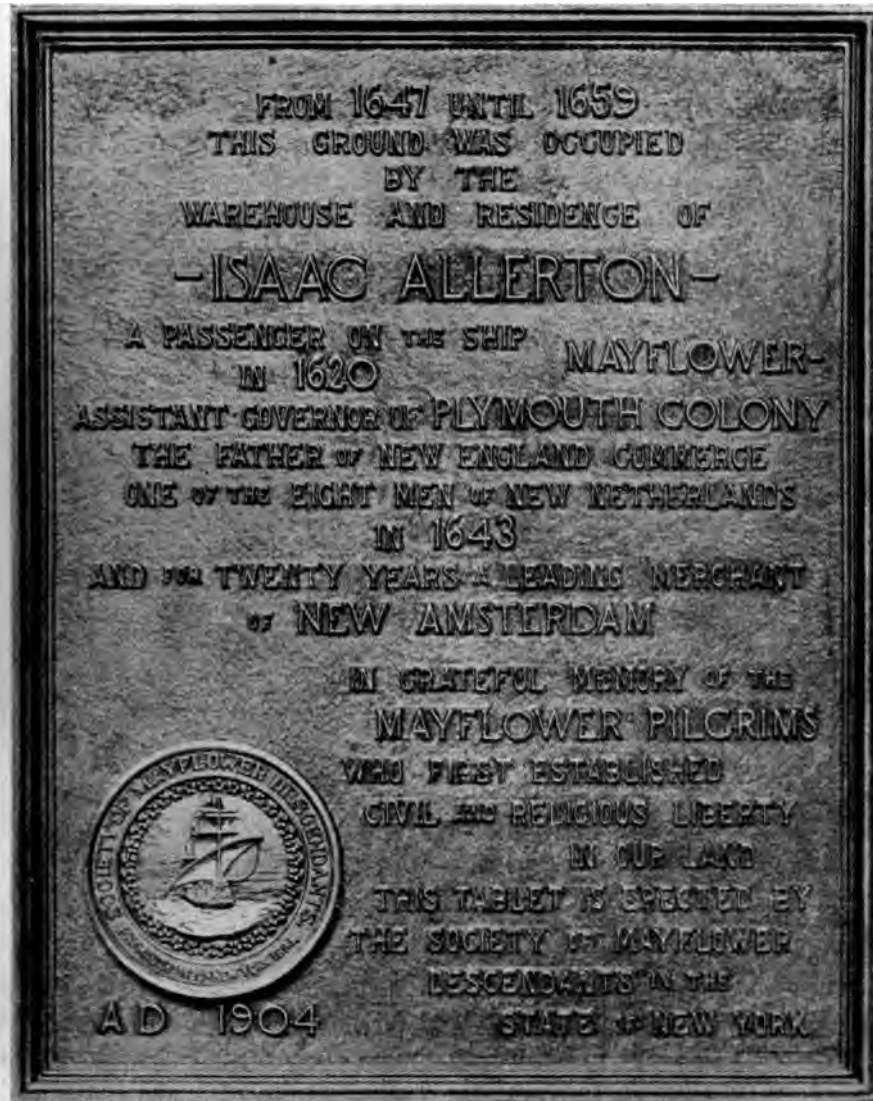
(BOCARDO) CITY PRISON, OXFORD.



JOHN WYCLIF WRITING HIS BIBLE VERSION.



WYCLIF (WHITE CLIFF) ON THE RIVER TEE.



TABLET ON THE SITE OF ISAAC ALLERTON'S HOME AT 8 PECK SLIP, N. Y. CITY.

fortunate Weymouth settlement. To vex farther their spirit, the Pilgrims were scandalized less by the actual goings on at Merrymount by Morton and his gang of roysterers than at the consequences of such licentiousness. The deliberate holding back in Leyden of the Reverend John Robinson and other marooned Pilgrims by the London stockholders was an ever-piercing and festering thorn in the flesh. There was much wrestling in prayer with the Father of all Fathers for victory over their enemies, for the coming of Robinson, their pastor and father-in-God, with his remnant would mean reunion of the severed portions of the church. We are never to forget that the congregation in Plymouth was in its first years, and long after 1630, but a segment of the Leyden church.

The arrival of Robert Gorges as Governor-General of New England to supplant their beloved Bradford was another trial, but proved a failure through Gorges' dislike for pioneer living. The Gloucester Cape Ann imbroglio also kept the pot of discord steaming.

The withdrawal of support in 1625 by the London stockholders, presaging a possible disastrous foreclosure to come in 1627, the year of final settlement, and the threatened loss, not only of material belongings, but what to the Pilgrims was far more disheartening, a deliberate blocking of their efforts to found a new community, were as the "last ounce" upon the overladen body politic. A succession of minor troubles increased the steadily-rising floodtide of disaster. An organized attempt to burn the colony, the reduction of seed corn to five kernels for each person, the effort by Conformist Reverend John Lyford and Layman John Oldham to undermine their religious belief, a threatened conflict with Winthrop's colony over Indian trading, trickery of the Particulars; disagreement with the Dutch in 1632 through their bargaining with Indians in Buzzard's Bay territory; loss of the profitable Castine trading post; the final refusal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to aid in its regain-



ANCIENT VIEW OF ISAAC ALLERTON'S HOUSE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS ON THE EAST RIVER WATERFRONT OFF PECK SLIP.

ing, and the wresting of a large part of their rich Connecticut valley holdings in 1636 by those same Massachusetts Bay Christian brethren were discouraging blows, the effect of which could not be overcome. At times it seemed as if the rising flood, even tidal waves of disaster, would overwhelm them and their names and history in oblivion. Verily, the Christian forbearance exercised by these men of God, according to their Master's Golden Rule, toward Weston, Allerton, Shirley, Lyford, and others of the same disturbing cast of mind and vicious activities in those days of a world-wide revenge theology is astounding, in view of the lack of honor and fealty which was shown by these schemers toward their brethren. The Pilgrims showed themselves true followers of Him who cut across the grain of human nature by his "second mile" and cheek-turning precepts. From without, renegades and imposters were ever ready to let fly sharp arrows of trouble at the little band of Separatists. Their fiery barbs were quenched by the Pilgrims' shield of faith.



BENJAMIN CHURCH CAPTURING ANAWAN WITH ONE-TENTH OF HIS FORCE.

Even to a coldly critical historian, weighing all the facts, there comes the conviction that whatever else be his judgment upon this people, he must believe that it was some positive principle, such as a higher obedience or a more noble loyalty, and not any negative or rebellious notion, that they followed.

He loses much who turns too rapidly the pages of that ever-open and absorbingly interesting book of human nature on which are traced references to the Cape Cod Indian in his years of continuous contact with both Pilgrim and Puritan. Reared in savagery, his religion saturated with the antiquated, unrighteous "eye for an eye" doctrine, war was the business of the Indian; revenge his pastime. In spite of the bitterness engendered by Captain Smith's subordinate, Thomas Hunt, in enticing thirty odd Indians into his vessel and selling them into slavery, thereby sowing veritable dragon's teeth along the entire New England coast—a crop assiduously cultivated by lawless bands of adventurers until Indians snarled and gnashed at newcomers—the



EARLY AMERICAN INDIAN CANNIBALS FEASTING ON CADAVERS.



THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.



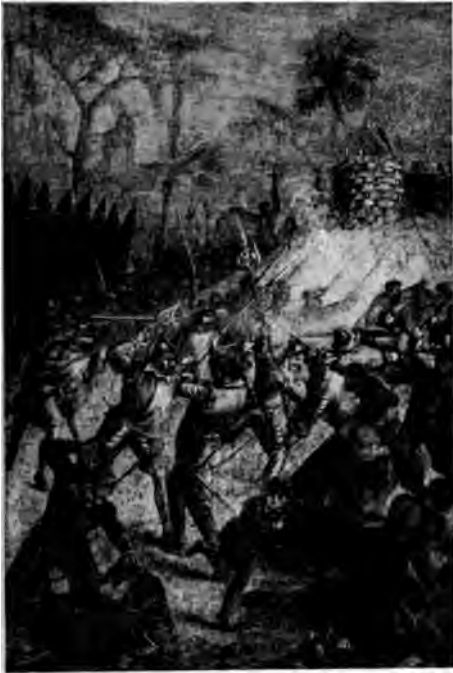
ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.



CHURCH AND ANAWAN.

Plymouth men and the coast Indians made and kept friendship. In the face of this diabolical record, of white "Christians"—when orthodoxy was reckoned more than righteousness—in the days of native tribal jealousies, feuds, vendettas, and massacres, the story of missionary triumphs makes a shining page.

Williams, Eliot, Mayhew, Goodrich, Sargent, and Bourne, of Sandwich—that self-denying sextette of Indian missionaries, reached the hearts of the savages, converting fully four and perhaps five thousand, and proving the red men better human beings than many of their white neighbors. Indeed, the outspoken purpose of Christianizing and civilizing the Indian was as a plank firmly nailed in the platform of principles submitted for approval to promoters,



ONSLAUGHT AT FORT CAROLINE.



NORSEMEN.



DE GORGES, THE BRAVE
FRENCH CATHOLIC WHO SLEW
SPANISH CATHOLICS IN FLORIDA.



HOUSE AT YORK, MAINE.



NORSEMEN AT SEA.



THE PARENT OF THE MODERN
SCHOONER.

TWO EARLY CONFLICTS ON AMERICAN SOIL.

subscribers, and backers of the Pilgrim and Puritan exodus from England. Among these was that God-fearing woman, Eliza Knight, the one member of her sex—probably not alone, but distinctly recorded as giving largely of her substance—to aid the settlement of New England. One skeptical male writer impudently says that Eliza Knight's name may have been spelled "Elizur," but the bulk of evidence points to a good woman who financially aided Puritan and Pilgrim to the extent of seventeen hundred pounds. It was only after reaching New England that colonists lost heart and grace and lamentably failed to carry out their sacred promises.

The majority, instead of dividing the task of proselyting the "lost tribes" among the many, threw the burden of laboring among the Indians on the self-sacrificing few, one of whom they unrighteously outlawed, while others who devoted life to Indian conversion were threatened with imprisonment and death.

Building a brick edifice at Harvard in which to educate Indians seems to have salved the conscience of the average Puritan as to the red man's religious education, though the result through years of labor and waiting was but a single lonely Indian graduate, one Caleb Cheeshahteumuth.

As one thus looks backward down the years in which, in perspective and in fancy, stand side by side for critical inspection the two communities that wrested New England from savagery, it is apparent that in a decade, though the Pilgrim "walked softly before God," he had only increased to three hundred souls. This was but a handful before the hordes of savages that roamed the forests and paddled their canoes along the rivers and lakes of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. As man is constituted, he seems to require more of the selfish instincts, that underlie wealth and power to succeed, according to his ideal; and of these lower motives the Puritan had a liberal supply.



HOW THE DUNKIRK PIRATES ATTACKED ENGLISHMEN AND DUTCHMEN OFF
THE COAST.



THE SCROOBY CHURCH.

Both communities of Free and State Churchmen in America worked as one, after adjusting minor difficulties. To many, the prayers of the Reverend John Robinson, not only on the quay at Delfshaven, but as long as he lived; the fervid supplications of Elder Brewster, both in cabin and



THAT DEERFIELD
DOOR STILL MARKED
WITH BLOOD-
STAINED TOMA-
HAWKS.

on shore, and the community petitions to the Throne of Grace, so thoroughly in accord with their faith and purposes in life, were mighty factors in the ultimate outcome. Certainly the Pilgrim story, even after pitilessly exposing peculiarities and limitations, is a golden commentary on the creed of the Free Churchmen of today, that they who have faith in God and show their faith by their works have more to do with the government of the world, and especially with its improvement, than the

men who wear crowns, lead armies and navies, hold titles and decorations, or are captains in large industries.

The Pilgrim covenant was one of mingled faith and works. In their minds and reading of the New Testament, Paul and James saw eye to eye. The sturdy shoulders, steady nerve, active, well-balanced brain, indomitable courage, and unquailing endurance of "the Little Captain," as Myles Standish was called far and wide, were also potent factors in keeping above stormy waters both the church and the republic of the Separatists.

Myles Standish generally accomplished what he sought to do. Most enthusiastically he bore the brunt of combats that prevented annihilation of the company. Whether aided in conquest by his glistening armor, which had shielded the warrior so well, when facing the Spaniard under the Republican banner, or by that Damascus blade "nigh unto a thousand years old," and traditionally said also to have clashed in the Crusades, as well as by his own steel-blue eyes and martial bearing, he proved himself a many-

sided leader. He was a general, an ambassador, a sheriff, and an executioner. Not in history or known fact, but only in drama, poetry, and tradition, did he fail in his addresses to Priscilla Mullens. At the head of tiny bands of from



GOFFE AT HADLEY.

six to ten men, he would tackle entire Indian tribes, venturing into the depths of a forest that was truthfully trackless, often making his attack on dark, stormy nights. Though frequently cut off from food and reinforcements, he emerged in *every instance* with a whole skin and a victorious banner.

Myles Standish diplomatically convinced Sachem Abbatinewat, of the Massachusetts tribe, that if he wanted the protection of King James I, he and his people must "come over on our side." This the chieftain proceeded to do with alacrity, though he saw but ten men as earnest for the guarantee. For over half a century thereafter, excepting the Weymouth episode, which was in a measure abetted by Massachusetts Indian tribes, neighboring Indians smoked the calumet of peace with the white man. When Myles Standish found he could not convince by argument, he fought and killed Pecksuet, and cut off the head of Wituwamat, bringing it back to Plymouth, where, according to

ancestral custom, it veered with and breasted the wind for years as a fearsome warning, in view of all Indian visitors.

The Pilgrim by training, environment, and smallness of numbers had fewer enigmas to solve than the Puritan.



GOFFE AT HADLEY CHURCH WARNING THE WORSHIPERS OF AN INDIAN ATTACK.

He was thrice-armed because of his justice and righteousness. His courage, firmness, inflexible rectitude, and kindness toward the Indian—ministering to him even in contagious diseases—gave the Pilgrim a strong hold on his Indian brother. The friendship of the red man aided greatly in furthering that vital

half century of peace that stood for growth and strength.

As with a wall, the Pilgrims found defence in Indian good will. With the arrival of the Puritans came complex conditions. One thousand and more strong at the starting point, the very inertia of size spelled friction as well as progress, at the same time revealing different interests, opinions, and schisms. Perhaps the God of Mammon encroached a trifle on the realm set aside by the Puritan for the Living God. Many of the Puritans were men of wealth and college training. In fact, with their expensive belongings it cost Winthrop's company, including their capital, at least fifteen million dollars in present money value to reach New England and properly start the colony. On the other hand, in contrast, the Pilgrims were so impoverished by Weston's "holdup" of a paltry hundred pounds that they had to sell their little store of butter and many

essentials to raise sufficient cash to pay local debts before casting off the lines gripped by the sheriff that held the Mayflower fast in port.

Puritans drove their stakes irrevocably deep, set them very straight and fought tooth and nail for what they believed "the" truth. *They* were the Elect, and all others were unsaved. They were not Separatists like the Pilgrims. Nevertheless, posing as Nonconformists, they would fain remain within the pale they had themselves erected, in obedience, they thought, to the will of God. Yet in a measure they held to the faith that had been their fathers' for full three hundred years. Aiming to strip religion of its old-time formalism, they purblindly packed it with a new formalism which in some ways overshadowed the old; which they rejected. Hence the christening by the Episcopalian, William Blaxton, "the government of My Lord Brethren," as he shook the soil of Sentry Hill, edging Boston Common, from his feet and migrated across the country to Study Hill, in Rhode Island. In other words, the Puritans did what, in every age, country, and clime, human beings do when they have the power. Whether Confucian, Hindoo, Russian, Englishman, or American, of earlier days, the persecuted become persecutors when they have power to compel. No less a teacher than Jesus Himself prophesied in detail what men will do in the name of God.

Royal team-work was that of the Pilgrim and Puritan, each needful and supplemental to the other. To the shades of each we render homage, while to that New Englander yet in the flesh, however far from his fatherland he may have roamed, who can place one hand on the shoulder of the comrades of Myles Standish and the other on that of John Winthrop and his co-laborers, we offer our sincere homage. Yet to be as good as our fathers, we must be better than they were, for we have climbed upon their shoulders and see more. The man who knows whence he has sprung must consecrate himself in double service to his fellows.

And thus we reach the end of that first settlement-cycle of New England. From now on, Plymouth, antedating all other New England shrines save one, is merged not only in the commonwealth of the Old Bay State, but with our entire country. As all roads lead to Rome, so all paths across our fair land, whether beginning at the Golden Gate or where the aurora borealis glows in the Land of the Midnight Sun, or where the blue waters of the gulf lave the shores of perpetual summerland, lead back to Plymouth Rock.

ADDENDA
WHICH INCLUDES THE TERCENTENARY ME-
MORIALS IN AND OF PLYMOUTH LAND

THE marrow of this History is the Unshackling of the Race, from the year 449 on the Rock of Thanet through a dozen centuries to the Rock of Plymouth, then onward to the slopes of Bunker Hill in 1775 and the banks of the York River in 1781.

Treating of the Pilgrims and Puritans, the Tercentenary Celebration strikes a vibrant key in this work, and to the Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission, consisting of:

Louis K. Liggett, Chairman,
Arthur Lord,
George H. Lyman,
Milton Reed,
Charles B. Barnes,
William Carroll Hill, Secretary,

the thanks of an entire nation are due. With unwavering energy this commission devoted years to the memorialization of the Pilgrim Fathers and the Restoration of Plymouth's shore front.

The Plymouth Pageant, wonderfully portrayed by Professor George Pierce Baker of Harvard College, in actual presence and vivid retrospect, will ever dwell in the hearts of the nation.

The religious, financial, industrial, and commercial interests of Plymouth, including its entire population and the surrounding countryside, aided in making the Tercentenary Celebration a stupendous success.

This landing that shook two continents brought to the townlet on Massachusetts Bay the homage of nations across the sea.

In our own land from the ranks of the twenty million more or less descendants of the Pilgrims and Puritans have

forged to the front men and women by hundreds of thousands who thrill and glory with pride of ancestry.

In the years 1920, 1921 and 1922, many of these have made the pilgrimage from every section of our fair land to stand in worshipful mood on Plymouth and Coale's Hills, reverently touch Prayer Meeting (Pulpit) Rock, thread the narrow thoroughfares of Provincetown, struggle to the summit of the sand dunes, and gaze in profound delight on the azure sea over which three hundred years ago in bleak November a sorely battered vessel came into view, rounding yonder point of land—a craft packed from keel to deck plank with our ancestors, heroic souls! Defying Cape Cod's treacherous shoals and pounding billows, the Mayflower cast anchor within the protecting arm of the "Sickle Cape."

With the red-blooded American habit to do as well as talk, Pilgrim and Puritan descendants, through governmental legislation and private subscription totalling an expenditure of close to one million dollars, have made various radical changes, transforming Plymouth's unsightly commercial water front until it more nearly resembles the ancient harbor line seen by the Pilgrims when their whale boat crunched on the sand as they leaped ashore in November, 1620.

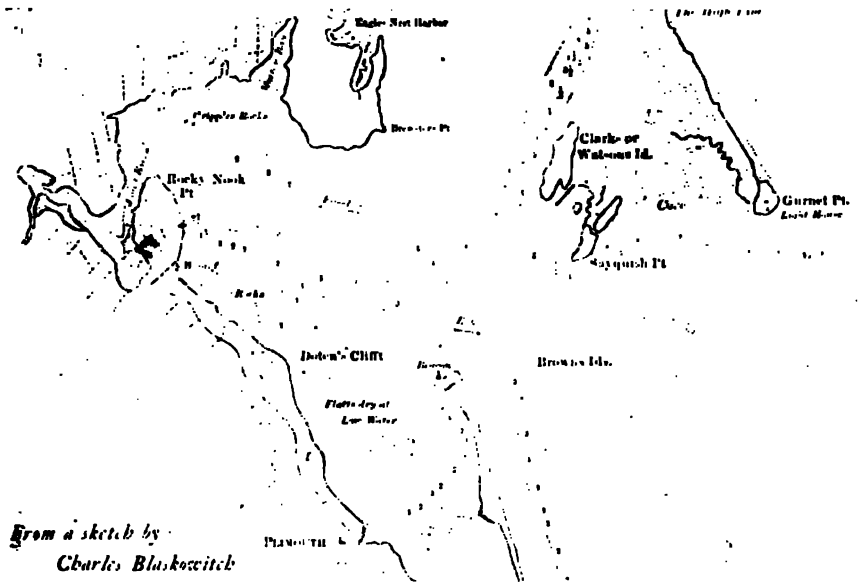


THAT FIRST ILLUSTRATION OF
PLYMOUTH ROCK, CENTERING
THE ROADWAY.

As to the memorial monuments to the Pilgrims the clarion note struck by Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1855 finds a clear resonant echo in the working out of his entrancing ideals in 1920 and 1921 as he speaks to us from beyond the shadows:

"If I could finish the Cologne cathedral with a word and transport it with a wish, the last spot in New England I would choose for it would be the land-

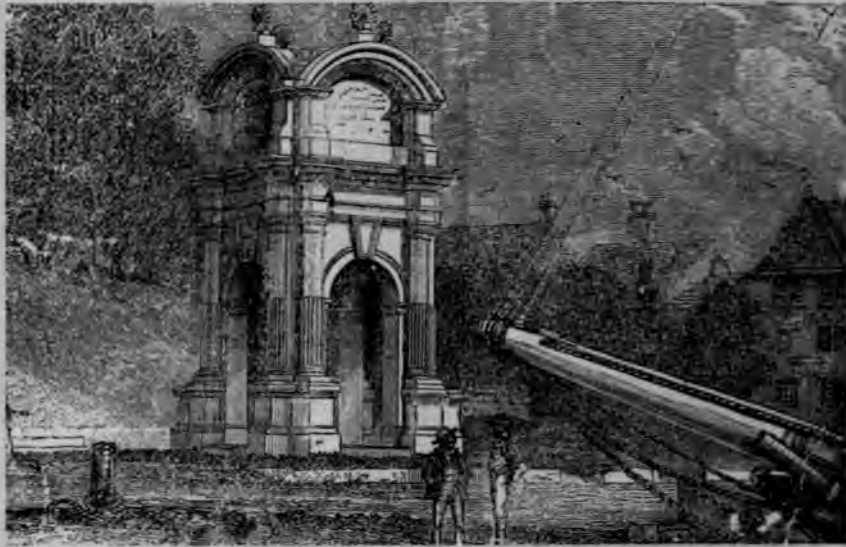
ing place of the Plymouth Pilgrims. It is a rule that artists know well enough, not to let cross lights shine on what they wish to display to advantage. The serene and heavenly smile



CHARLES BLASKOWITCH'S ENGINEERING PLAN OF PLYMOUTH HARBOR,
SHOWING THE ROCK.



AN OFF-SHORE VIEW OF THE NOW DESTROYED CANOPY WHICH ONCE SHEL-
TERED PLYMOUTH ROCK.



AN IN-SHORE VIEW TAKEN FORTY-ODD YEARS AGO OF THE CANOPY THAT
ROOFED IN PLYMOUTH ROCK.

of those devoted men and women has for its natural background—if so trivial an expression may be used—the scowl of the bare landscape around their place of refuge. Thus surrounded, one impression dominates all others in the mind of him who seeks the holy place to live over the days of the struggling colonists. This is the impression that a misplaced artistic display would do its best to confuse with a cross light. Overcome it, it never can; point to a level bank and say, “There lies the dust of John Carver and all the bold men and patient women that perished around him,” and our thoughts are nearer heaven already than the tallest structure of art can climb with its aspiring capstone.”

PLYMOUTH ROCK

This (p.362), the earliest illustration extant of the most haloed relic in our country, shows the seven-ton boulder covered with mire and slime centering the roadway trod by man and beast for many a year. Occasionally the oldest inhabitant pointed it out with his hickory, and explained how Elder Thomas Faunce, whose father came in the *Fortune*, when



Courtesy of the Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission.

THE TEMPLE TODAY COVERING PLYMOUTH ROCK SINCE IT WAS LOWERED TO ITS ORIGINAL BED.



Courtesy of the INTERNATIONAL.

THE ROCK AS IT LOOKED IN THE SUMMER OF 1921

ninety-five years old, reiterated his identification of the rock as the landing-place of the Pilgrims. In a near-by building the local historian shows the map made by Charles Blaskowitch close to one hundred and fifty years ago, on which is clearly outlined Plymouth Rock.

Replaced from an up-street wandering, the Rock was thus



Courtesy of the INTERNATIONAL.

THAT FIRST STEPPING-STONE OF OUR REPUBLIC BEING LOWERED TO ITS
PERMANENT BASE.

canopied for some fifty years. Under its stone roof were grouped the only Pilgrim bones ever discovered. These experienced their first resurrection from the grip of that first God's acre in New England, Coale's Hill,* through man's adoration of his forebears.

The year 1921 saw four essential changes made for these, the most sacred relics of the settlement of our land.

1. The stone canopy protecting the rock was demolished.
2. The rock was lowered to its exact original bed, swung neither north, south, east nor west from its first location, awash with the waters of the harbor, it having been lifted when the wharf was built years ago.

* Coale's signature is on page 389.

3. The bones of our ancestors were removed and buried beneath the sarcophagus on Coale's Hill.
4. The rock now close to the water's edge, was protected by a stone temple.

In this process of lowering Plymouth Rock, one obtains an excellent idea of the small size of the historic boulder which, clutched in an unleashed glacier working southward from the frozen North, grounded on Plymouth Beach. The appropriately designed temple which today guards Plymouth Rock is fully in keeping with this treasure of uncounted ages.



THESE BONES OF THE PILGRIMS WHICH HAVE PASSED THROUGH THREE CYCLES WERE PHOTOGRAPHED BY WILLIAM CARROLL HILL, SECRETARY OF THE PILGRIM TERCENTENARY COMMISSION, AND THE PHOTOGRAPH PRESENTED TO THE AUTHOR WITH PERMISSION TO PUBLISH.

First Cycle: Two hundred and fifty years in damp, clammy darkness.

Second Cycle: Two Hours of sunlight.

Third Cycle: Re-entombed in Coale's Hill until the day of Cotton Mather's prophecy, "when the ocean washes the land into the sea, and codfish swim over Plymouth Hill."

Secretary Hill in these words explains the exact treatment given the Pilgrim remains:

"I deposited the bones in a cement casket, and this was placed in the bottom of the center of a vault some nine feet north and south, four feet wide, and six feet deep, which forms the base of the sarcophagus. The vault is of cement,

some twelve inches thick on all sides, with steel rods and grill above, and more cement."

Beneath this sarcophagus, thus imperishably buried in iron-barred cement, lie these bones, the only known remains of the Pilgrims. Skull, crossbone, and ribs, as viewed, were nurtured and sustained through that trying voyage of the Mayflower. The Last Trump, an earthquake, or the ocean are the only avenues through which these sacred relics will ever be disturbed.

When Oliver Wendell Holmes, the renowned surgeon, was asked to give an opinion as to the race to which these bones belonged, after close scrutiny and comparison with other remains, he unhesitatingly stated:

"Yes; these were the bones that barred in and domed over the souls of the first that perished from among the heroic Pilgrims. The mortal relics of these immortal martyrs are before us."

A solemn hour this, the return to Mother Earth of children who had stood the fire test of persecution, starva-



THE SARCOPHAGUS ON COALE'S HILL DEDICATED SEPTEMBER 8, 1921, THE LAST RESTING-PLACE OF THE FEW PILGRIM BONES DISCOVERED.

tion, and disease. Those who viewed the impressive ceremony saw that which would remain in memory through life. In enduring bronze letters, the visitor to Plymouth reads on the stone surface of the sarcophagus these lines:

WEST SIDE

"This monument marks the First Burying Ground of the Passengers of the Mayflower. Here, under cover of darkness, the fast dwindling company laid their dead, leveling the earth above them lest the Indians should know how many were graves. Reader, History records no nobler venture for faith and freedom than that of the Pilgrim band. In weariness and painfulness, in watching, often in hunger and cold, they laid the foundations of a state wherein every man, through countless ages, should have liberty to worship God in his own way. May their example inspire thee to do thy part in perpetuating and spreading the Holy ideals of our republic throughout the world."

EAST SIDE (FACING OCEAN)

"Of the One Hundred and Four passengers these died in Plymouth during the first year, John Allerton, May, first wife of Isaac Allerton; Richard Britteridge, Robert Carter, John Carver and Katharine, his wife; James Chilton's wife, Richard Clarke, John Crakston, Sr., Sarah, first wife of Francis Eaton; Thomas English, Moses Fletcher, Edward Fuller and his wife, John Goodman, William Holbeck, John Hooke, John Langmore, Edmund Margeson, Christopher Martin and his wife, Ellen Moore and a brother (children), William Mullens, Alice, his wife, and Joseph, their son; Solomon Prower, John Rigdale and Alice, his wife, Thomas Rogers, Rose, first wife of Myles Standish, Elias Story, Edward Tilley and Ann, his wife, John Tilley and his wife, Thomas Tinker, his wife and son, John Turner and two sons, William White, Roger Wilder, Elizabeth, first wife of Edward Winslow, Thomas Williams."

NORTH END

"The Bones of the Pilgrim found at various times in and near this enclosure and preserved for many years in the canopy over the Rock were returned at the time of the Tercentenary celebration and are deposited within this monument. Erected by the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, A.D. 1920."



Courtesy of the Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission.

IN THIS ILLUSTRATION, FROM WHICH COMMERCIALISM HAS BEEN ELIMINATED, THE "SCOWL OF THE BARE LANDSCAPE" AS VIEWED BY PILGRIMS IN 1620 IS CLEARLY OUTLINED.



Courtesy of the Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission.

THESE ENCROACHMENTS OF MAN ON PLYMOUTH'S WATER FRONT WERE RAZED IN PLYMOUTH'S RESTORATION PERIOD OF 1920, 1921, AND 1922.

SOUTH END

"Aboute A Hundred Sowls Came over in this First Ship
and Began This Work Which God of His Goodness Hath
Hitherto Blessed: Let His Holy Name Have Ye Praise."

PROVINCETOWN

After the hundreds of thousands of modern Pilgrims who journeyed to Plymouth in 1920 and 1921 had returned to their homes and the Plymouth Pageant and Harding Day had slipped into the past, Provincetown came into its own by the installation in the year 1922 of additional memorials on its historic soil. The Provincetown Tercentenary Commission, ably represented by its Chairman, former Congressman Thomas C. Thacher of Yarmouth, Massachusetts, caused to be placed on the "Sickle Cape" memorials of intense interest, not only to all Americans, but to friends over ocean.

One of these, the imposing nine by eighteen foot bas-relief by Cyrus E. Dallin, "The Signing of the Mayflower Compact," was installed in the spring of 1922 on the lawn fronting the Town Hall in Provincetown. Inset in a massive curved background of granite, merged into and flanked by stone settles, this monument to the Pilgrim Fathers will breast the storms of the bleak cape for centuries.

Four boulders bear on their surfaces bronze bas-reliefs indicating location and naming the advance Pilgrim guard who ranged the "Cape of Many Names" in late November and early December, 1620, trod the beach shore front, scaled slippery sand dunes, cautiously threaded the forest, November 26 drank from that first spring at North Truro, on the same day dug into the Indian dirt granary, purloining the first corn (mondamin) they had ever seen, entered Wellfleet Harbor on the 16th and 17th, heard the Indian war whoop for the first time, and fought the redskin on the site of what they named "First Encounter."

Approximately near the historic sepulchre of the Fathers, in guardian pose, stands, in bronze, the red man, Massasoit, who in life jealously protected our Pilgrim Fathers from the "bad Indian" who would gladly have absorbed the white man's possessions and wiped him off the



THE WOMEN OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN THIS STONE SETTLE, HAVE MEMORIALIZED THE PILGRIM FATHERS BY PLACING IT UPON COALE'S HILL.



Copyright, Cyrus E. Dallin.

© Curtis & Cameron, Inc., Boston, Mass.

—From a Copley Print.

LATEST CONCEPT OF THE SIGNING OF THE MAYFLOW COMPACT.



Courtesy of H. H. Kitson, Boston, Mass.

THE PILGRIM MAID.



Courtesy of Cyrus E. Dallin.

FEARING PILGRIM INTERFERENCE, ANN HUTCHINSON FLED TO PELHAMVILLE, NEW YORK, AND WHEN GOVERNOR KIEFT WARRED WITH THE INDIANS, THIS PROGRESSIVE WAS TOMAHAWKED WITH ALL HER FAMILY SAVE ONE.



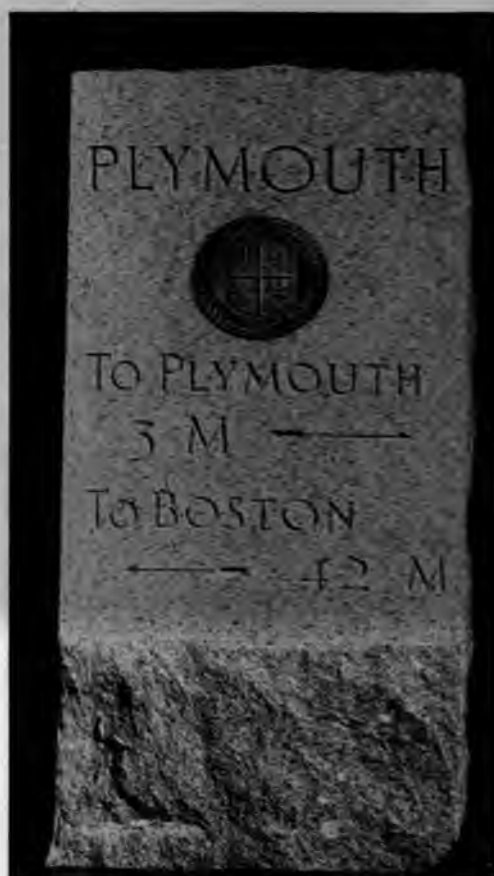
THE HOWLAND MEMORIAL ERECTED BY THE HOWLAND FAMILY ON THE GROUNDS OF THEIR ANCESTORS IN 1921.

continent. When the Red Men of America reared a memorial to Massasoit they added lustre to the record of the American Indian and to their organization.

None of the family memorials that are beginning to be placed in and about Plymouth (and no descendant of a Mayflowerite should be satisfied until a memorial to his or her First Ancestor is reared in Pilgrim-Land) rank higher than that of the Howland family seen in this monument erected by John Howland's descendants, who nearly missed being on this planet. A friendly wave and a trailing rope placed their ancestor once more on the Mayflower's deck after a sudden engulfment in mid-Atlantic.



AS THE COUNTRY WAY IS NOW LINED BETWEEN THE SISTER TOWNS OF THE CAPE.



STONE TABLETS, EIGHTY STRONG, THAT MARK THE BAYE PATH BETWEEN PLYMOUTH AND BOSTON.

THE WINDOWS IN PLYMOUTH CHURCH, BROOKLYN. N. Y.,
WHICH MEMORIALIZE THE FOREFATHERS.



Designed by Frederick S. Lamb. Courtesy of J. & R. Lamb Studios.

JOHN ELIOT PREACHING TO THE INDIANS.



Designed by Frederick S. Lamb. Courtesy of J. & R. Lamb Studios.
JOHN MILTON, CROMWELL'S SECRETARY OF STATE, PLEAD-
ING FOR INTELLECTUAL AND PRESS LIBERTY.



Designed by Frederick S. Lamb. Courtesy of J. & R. Lamb Studios.

SIGNING OF THE COMPACT ON THE MAYFLOW. REPRESENTING CARVER, BRADFORD, AND WINSLOW. ALL GOVERNORS OF THE COLONY.



Designed by Frederick S. Lamb. Courtesy of J. & R. Lamb Studios.
THE LAST PRAYER OF JOHN ROBINSON ON THE DECK OF
THE SPEEDWELL AT DELFHAVEN.

PILGRIM MEMORIALS



Designed by Frederick S. Lamb. Courtesy of J. & R.
OLIVER CROMWELL ANNOUNCING LIBERTY OF WORSHIP
THE BEGINNINGS OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION AND
TO GEORGE FOX ON THE LATTER'S VISIT TO
COURT.



Designed by Frederick S. Lamb. Courtesy of J. & R. Lamb Studios.

JOHN HAMPDEN AND JOHN PYM APPEALING FOR THE BILL
OF RIGHTS BEFORE CHARLES I. IN THE HOUSE OF PARLIA-
MENT. JOHN HAMPDEN IN HIS ONE VISIT TO AMERICA MET
NOT ONLY WINSLOW, BUT JOHN ELIOT.



Designed by Frederick S. Lamb.

Courtesy of J. & R. Lamb Studios.

THE FOUNDING OF HARVARD COLLEGE.



Designed by Frederick S. Lamb. Courtesy of J. & R. Lamb Studios.
REPRESENTATIVE PILGRIMS WHO LANDED AT PLYMOUTH.

Inset in the walls of Plymouth Church in glowing colors, one reads the Pilgrim and Puritan story in these windows which look in and look out at the passing world, hourly emphasizing the rare fiber permeating an ancestry which formed this Western Empire.

A happy concept this, to implant through the artist in the minds of the young and old the sterling qualities of true manhood and womanhood that foundationed New England. These men and women, in spite of their intolerance and narrowness, were at heart veritable towers of strength.

IN STONE, BRONZE, GOLD, AND SILVER, ONE READS THIS ANCIENT THRILLING STORY, EVER NEW TO PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE GENERATIONS. STATUES, BAS-RELIEFS, MEDALLIONS—EVEN THE COINS AND STAMPS OF THE AMERICAN NATION—ARE LAID IN FEAL-HOMAGE ON THE ALTAR OF THE FATHERS.



TERCENTENARY MEDAL DESIGNED BY ROYAL BEGEER, UTRECHT, HOLLAND.





Courtesy of Cyrus E. Dallin.



A NEAR COPY OF THE TERCENTENARY
HALF DOLLAR



ON THE PLYMOUTH BARBICAN IS SEEN
TODAY THIS TABLET COMMEMORATING
THE ARRIVAL OF THE AIRSHIP NC-4 IN
THAT HISTORIC HARBOR.

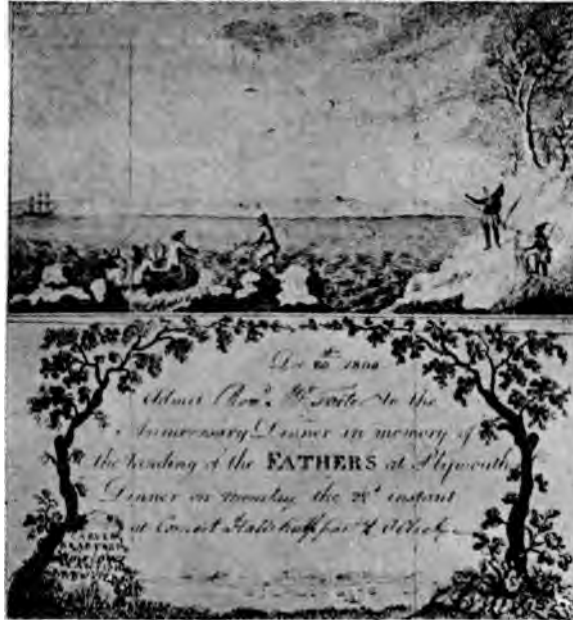


Drawn by P. S. Ruttkay.

TYPE OF STAMP ADOPTED IN
HONOR OF THE TERCENTENARY
CELEBRATION OF THE LANDING OF
THE PILGRIMS.



THE "FATHER OF OUR COUNTRY."



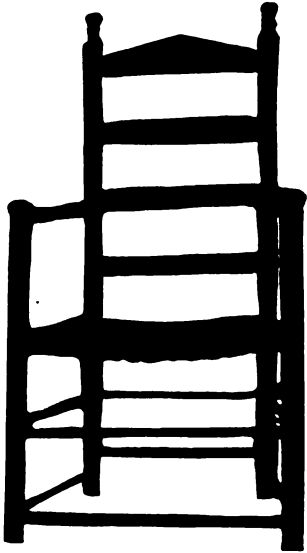
ONE FINDS PLYMOUTH, AS EARLY AS DECEMBER 21, 1800, A FULL ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY YEARS AGO, CELEBRATING THAT LANDING AS DESCRIBED IN THIS ELABORATELY DESIGNED PROGRAM.



ARTISTS OF BRITAIN, HOLLAND, AND AMERICA VIED IN THEIR EFFORTS TO LAUREL-CROWN THE TERCENTENARY CELEBRATION.



JOHN HOWLAND'S MEMORY IS PERPETUATED IN MODERN STYLE ON HIS STONE, BARREN OF DEATH HEADS AND HOUR GLASSES.



AMONG HEIRLOOMS THAT HAVE COME TO US FROM THAT VERY FIRST-BORN CITIZEN OF PLYMOUTH, PEREGRINE WHITE, ARE HIS WATCH, CLOCK, AND CHAIR, AND OF STILL GREATER INTEREST, A TINY FRAGMENT OF HIS MOTHER'S DRESS HERE PICTURED.

IGNORANCE REGARDING TEETH HYGIENE CAUSED EARLY LOSS, ACCELERATED BY THIS CRUDE TOOTH-PULLER, WHICH IN THE HANDS OF THE BARBER-DENTIST FREQUENTLY GASHED CHEEK AND GUMS.



Tooth Extractor



SAD MEMORIES OF THAT DEATH-WINTER OF 1620-1 CLUSTER ABOUT THIS TINY BIT OF A WOMAN'S GARB WHOSE PLUMED FLORETS WERE OFT ADMIRINGLY GAZED UPON AND STROKED BY THEIR FAIR OWNER.



THE STONE WHICH GUIDES THE DESCENDANTS OF PHINEAS PRATT TO HIS REST-PLACE ON PLYMOUTH HILL.



FEW TOMBSTONES MEAN MORE TO PILGRIM DESCENDANTS THAN THIS OF WILLIAM PARODIE, WHO MARRIED BETTY ALDEN.

In a sense paramount to a portrait is an autograph. The former but outlines the masked tenement of the soul. In the autograph the brain links with the life-driven hand to pen-point the habit of mind in the writer. Unconsciously oozing from up stroke, down stroke, angle, curve, dotted i and crossed t is the man himself in spite of himself openly spread on paper for his descendants a half-dozen centuries later to criticize and dissect, the disguising flesh screen behind which all humans are hidden, torn asunder.

18th 7th 1696

Throph. Eaton *progr.*
Herbert Pelham *To Endicott*
Eliza Hopkins *To: Haynes*
Lucy Brown *Edgyn Goodson*
Epine Foster
Robert Mason *James Coale*
Shurshick *Wether*
John Dwyer
Sinor *Richard Hakluyt* *progr.*
John Viner *Sarah Bavenport*
William Exallford

Le 12^o October 1694

Fronbenac

Chambers & Askey

Albemarle & Hartson

William John Berkeley

Will Berkeley & John Elton

Edw: Winslow

Samuel Gorton

Ezekiel Cheever

John Channing

Marmaduke Johnson

William Bradford

John Archdale Samuel
Hutter

William Morton

Donatony

Simon Bradstreet & John

Daniel Denison

Tho: Prentice

James Tudworth

John Mason

John Baskett

Theoph: Eaton

William Leece

John George

Samuel Appleton

John Alden

Robert Blount

John Norton

*He gave a Crown Staff of the provisions
as got up here by James Clock.*

Thomas Morton,

James Oglethorpe

Re Jo: uat White

Sam^l Sprague Secretary

John Dunton

Edw. Burroughs Co. Mather.

Wattamell Cowther

Thomas Cupman

John G. Whitten

John Draper

Thos. Drence

Nath^l Clark Secretary

James Cudworth,

Wilt Bradford
Dept Goudon^r

Champlain-
Isaac Johnson

William Shipf.

W. C. Mather

Jos. Winslow

John Milton

Peregrine White.

Thos. Sinokley

Co. Mather.

Gov^t

Edw. Burroughs

THE LUTHERANS IN AMERICA *

PRECEDING by three years the Tercentenary Celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, a celebration which, in 1920, stirred the hearts of the civilized world, occurred in 1917 the Quadricentennial of the Lutherans, one of the oldest branches of the Church of the Reformation. As the effulgent rays emanating from Spain that illumined the American continent through the dying Columbus, were waning, the Star of the Reformation, through Martin Luther, rose. Martin Luther, when, on October 31, 1517, he nailed his ninety-five theses on the door of the Wittenberg Church, defied the papal rule, and during his earth-hour reached the hearts of fifty million people. In the spring of 1521, when called before the Diet of Worms to explain his actions, Luther equalled Cromwell's most Titanic acts in thus facing Charles V, ruler of three realms, as well as the hierarchy of religious potentates, tearing to shreds the traditions of centuries as he preached primitive Christianity. In that moment Luther held in the hollow of his hand far more power than he knew, for his attitude released the long-gathering forces of the Reformation. Carlyle tells us that:

"This act is the greatest moment in modern history. English Puritans, England and its Parliament, America and the vast work of these two centuries lay there. Had Luther in that moment done other, it had all been otherwise."

Says Dr. Seiss:

"When Luther stood before the august Diet of Worms on trial for his faith, the liberties of the world trembled in his lone heart, and when he lifted up his hand before God in the face of all Europe's potentates, that unless convicted by clear testimony and sound reasons he could not and would not

* For additional illustrations and references to Lutherism see Vol. I., pp. 62 to 71, p. 227, p. 236.



LANDING OF THE SWEDISH LUTHERANS ON THE BANKS OF THE DELAWARE.

retract, modern freedom drew its first breath, and independence once more began to pulsate in the arteries of man."

Charles Francoi Dominick de Villers, a bishop of the French Catholic Church, says:

"The Reformation, which was at first only a return to liberty in the order of religious affairs, became also the return to liberty in the political system. The establishment of the Republic of America is a corollary of the Reformation."

Michelet, the French Roman Catholic historian, writes:

"We cannot think, speak, write, read, for a single moment without gratefully recalling to mind this enormous

benefit of intellectual enfranchisement. The very lines I here trace, to whom do I owe it that I am able to send them forth, if not to the liberator of modern thought, Martin Luther?"

In Daniel Webster's oration on completion of the Bunker Hill Monument, he said:

"The Reformation of Luther introduced civil and religious liberty into the wilds of North America."

It was against Martin Luther's command that the Lutherans adopted the Great Reformer's name, yet under that banner they have "fought the good fight" through centuries, a fight which in early days brought them into rivalry with the Reformed Calvinistic churches both in Europe and America.

Luther's Augsburg Confession of 1530 included three cardinal points: Separation of Church and State; no political affiliations as a church, and loyalty to the government. These tenets have guided the Lutherans from 1530 to the present hour.

Lutherans preëmpted the American continent to missionary labors when they settled in Venezuela in the year 1531.

When Pedro Menendez, at the command of Philip II, in 1565, asked the Floridan Lutherans: "Are you Catholics or Lutherans?" and received the reply, "Lutherans of the new religion," he placed over their butchered bodies the words, "I do this not as to Frenchmen but as to Lutherans." Later, the incensed de Gourges, though a Catholic, killed the slaughterers of his countrymen and reversed the motto.

Milestones planted by Lutherans in North America from 1619 to the twentieth century meant progress to both redskin and paleface. America's first Lutheran pastor was Rasmus Jensen, a Dane, entering Hudson Bay in 1619, and conducting services until his death in January, 1620. Manhattan Isle saw the first Lutherans in 1623. In 1637 the Swedish Lutherans settled on the Delaware, near Cape Henlopen, and the dream

of Gustavus Adolphus, "Snow King of the North," was realized, though after his death.

The first settled pastor was Reorus Torkillus, in 1639, at Fort Christiana (Wilmington) on the Delaware. He was succeeded by John Campanius, truly a missionary to the red



Courtesy Jones Brothers Pub. Co.
STRUGGLING THROUGH THE STORM
OF THAT FIRST WINTER.



THE LUTHERANS BUILDING THEIR
HOUSES ON THE DELAWARE IN 1637.



© Charles Scribner's Sons.
GOVERNOR PRINTZ READY
TO STAND FOR HIS RIGHTS.



© Charles Scribner's Sons.
MAP OF THE LOWER DELAWARE.

man, who translated Luther's Small Catechism in the Delaware tongue, written but not printed years before John Eliot translated the Bible for his native converts. The work of this Swedish pastor and that of Rev. Reorus Torkillus paved the way for the success of William Penn's peace policy with the redskin full forty years before that famous Quaker reached Penn-Sylvan.

Governor Peter Stuyvesant went directly against the spirit and practice of William the Silent, "Father of His Country," when he posted his "Ordinances against Conventicles," and forbade the holding of public services by the Lutherans. He even attempted to prevent their gathering in private houses. "Worship as we do," said the doughty, one-legged, Dutch Reformed Governor, "pay the fine, or go to prison." This arbitrary action of Stuyvesant was so different from that of the Dutch Republic that he was promptly rebuked by directors of the West India Company. Penn so improved upon "Pete, the Testy," that Pennsylvania became the American Lutherans' Holy Land instead of New York. As other Lutherans arrived in Manhattan, the governor shunted them off for New Amstel (New Castle) on the Delaware.

As with the Virgin Queen of England, the Virgin Queen of Sweden, Christina, was memorialized on the American continent, the latter by the fortress-church erected on the banks of the Delaware. The same dauntless spirit beat in the breasts of these pioneers in the American wilderness as when on the continent they rushed into battle following their king, Bibles in hand, and Luther's hymns on their lips.

One who searches for fountain heads will find many gushing forth from under the threshold of Lutheranism. "His words were half battles," says Richter. "Calvinism," says Dr. Philip Schaff, "contended against the paganism of Rome, and the Lutherans against its Judaism." Both of these divisions of the great Christian army have done a mighty work for human liberty and progress.

The Lutheran garment was cut along lines broad enough

to shelter a dozen nations and sects. Swedes, Finns, Hollanders, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Germans, Palatinates, Salzburgians, and Mennonites all flocked in mighty hosts into its ample folds, and "read their titles clear." Close to one hundred years before the Pilgrim, bending over the table in the stuffy hold of the Mayflower, signed the Compact, in 1530 the Lutherans signed the Augsburg Confession.

The twelve hundred Salzburgians who emigrated to Georgia in 1734 were met by General Oglethorpe, who led them to settle some twenty-three miles from Savannah, where they built their Ebenezer.

One hundred years before Newport had a slave pen packed with chained gangs of negroes landed at her wharves, Lutherans decried slavery, and, in 1713, the Rev. Christian Fischer on the Island of St. Thomas, preached the doctrine that the soul of the slave was worth saving. When Richard Henry Lee made his motion before the Continental Congress, declaring "the United States free and independent," it was blocked by non-fighting Quakers and half-hearted legislators until Lutherans rallied and the Keystone State voted "aye." The first troops to reach Cambridge after the call to arms were Pennsylvania Lutherans.*

Among the hundreds of dramatic hours and acts pre-saging the Revolutionary War, none shone forth more vividly than that of the Rev. John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, who after preaching his sermon in the little church in Woodstock, Virginia, electrified his audience by saying: "There is a time to preach and a time to pray"; and throwing aside his ministerial robes and standing before them in full military dress he declared, "but there is also a time to fight and that time is now."

* From the editor's maternal ancestors has come the tradition that the Lutherans and the Reformed soldiers in the Continental Army during the Revolution often went into battle singing a war song whose chorus range in the ears of the oncoming foe, possibly a trifle disconcerted by the arrogance of this usurpation of the Almighty.

"England's little George, king or kaiser,
Cannot stand before God and us."

ing the drums to beat, the domine strode down the aisle and enrolled three hundred of his congregation. Peter Muhlenberg saved the day at Brandywine, and led the reinforcements which captured the last of the British works at Yorktown.

Little did Rev. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg realize in 1742, when he drilled goodness into the hearts of Fred and Pete and, under enthusiasm for his subject, occasionally drove it home with customary birchings, that these two boys would come through the fire famous beyond his fondest hopes. Not only was Major-General Peter a close friend of Washington, but he was a member of the First, Third and Sixth Congress. Frederick A. also became a congressman, and was prominent in many Continental deliberations. Their maternal grandfather, Rev. Conrad Weiser, was a main factor, in connection with Sir William Johnson, in holding the Six Nations feal to the English and against France.

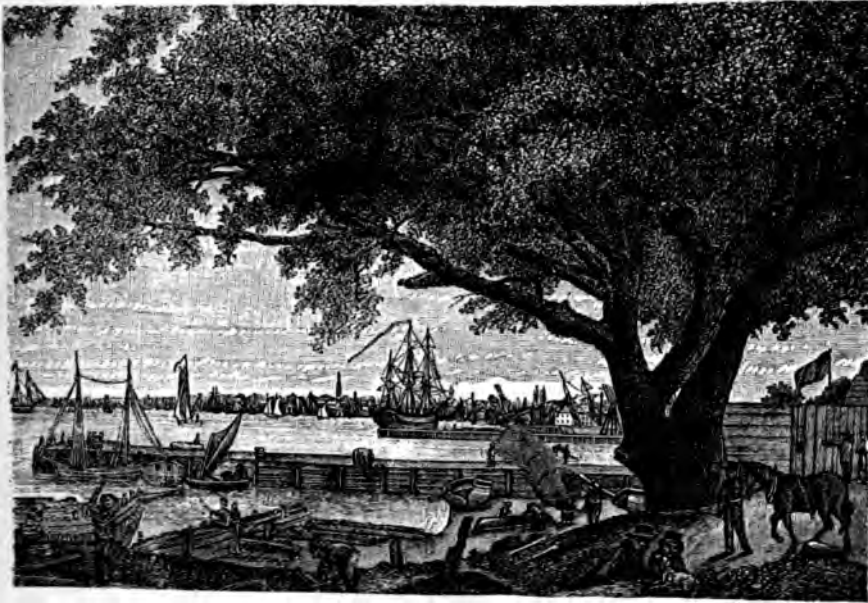
It is wholly fitting that in the Hall of Statues and of Fame in the Capitol at Washington the noble effigy of General Muhlenberg should be placed as the military hero of the Colony and State of Pennsylvania. In 1775 the Lutheran pastor Martin, of St. John's Church, Charleston, S. C., refusing to pray for the success of the King's cause, was obliged to flee the city and lose his property.

It is rumored that Washington, finding traitors among his bodyguard, three times went through the harrowing experience of removing seemingly well tried soldiers, until he found in Lutheran ranks men that he could trust.

On the Island of Tinicum, near Philadelphia, a settlement finally destroyed by the Dutch, was the first Lutheran church edifice in America. The old Swedish church in Wicaco, near Philadelphia, is still standing and in use by Episcopalians. It is among America's most sacred edifices and is referred to by Longfellow in his "Evangeline." By the year 1750 Pennsylvania had within its borders thirty thousand Lutherans.

In the Lutheran structure were three foundation stones:

first, religious tolerance; second, a missionary spirit, especially toward the Indians; third, the abolition of slavery. Probably no branch of the Christian church has done more to Americanize immigrants, a full score of nationalities and sects being included in the Lutheran fold. After two or three generations, most of the Lutherans gave up their old world speech and used the English tongue. The twenty-one synods (1921) with their eighteen thousand and ninety-three congregations, and the two million four hundred and twenty-nine thousand five hundred and sixty-one communicant members, with a much larger baptized following, show a cosmopolitan constituency, rich in vigorous life and missionary activity, ever busy in making good American citizens.



UNDER THE BRANCHES OF THIS TREE (SHACKAMAXON ELM) WILLIAM PENN
SIGNED THAT FAMOUS INDIAN TREATY.

ERRATA

VOLUME I

PAGE

- xxii. List of illustrations read "Delft" instead of "Delfshaven."
xl. 1st line, change Armistice to Treaty.
xli. 4th line from bottom after "hesitated" should read "and never became a state until March 4, 1791."
185. 5th line from bottom should read "these first" instead of "three first."
201. Caption should read "Roberval" instead of "Robertval."
206. Caption should read "Henry Hudson" instead of "Hendrick Hudson."
316. 2nd line should read "Ericson" instead of "Erikson."
337. Last line should read "Roberval" instead of "Robertval."
367. 3rd line should read "Coureurs des bois" instead of "Coureurs du bois."
368. 8th line should read "Van Rensselaers" instead of "Van Renssalaers."

VOLUME II

56. 3rd line from bottom should read "Sagquish" instead of "Saguish."
71. 4th line should read "Tisquantum" instead of "Tisaquantum."
107. 2nd line should read "Sir John Tenniel" instead of "Sir John Verrill."
124. Last line should read "Bryant" instead of "Byron."
135. 7th line from bottom should read "Cradock" instead of "Craddock."
136. Caption should read "Cradock" instead of "Craddock."
146. 14th line should read "Malayan" instead of "Malayans."
181. Last line omit period after "silenced."
266. 6th line from bottom should read "Nicolls" instead of "Nichols."
284. 1st line should read "Manomet" instead of "Monumet."
325. Caption should read "Charles Scribner's" instead of "Charles Scribner's."
331. 16th line should read "Taunton" instead of "Plymouth."
331. 10th line from bottom should read "Mavericke" instead of "Maverick."
332. 1st line should read "Nicolls" instead of "Nichols."
346. 15th line should read "Captain" instead of "Captin."
368. 21st line should read "Filipinos" instead of "Philippines."
396. 23rd line should read "Jacques" instead of "Jaques."
403. 12th line should read "James Edward" instead of "Charles Edward."

VOLUME III

28. 4th line should read "pen and sword" instead of "pencil and sword."
37. 9th line should read "De Latour" instead of "La Tour."
47. 5th line from bottom should read "many Puritans" instead of "many Pilgrims."
66. 16th line should read "colonies" instead of "colonists."
71. 2nd line should read "Stealthily" instead of "stealthfully."
71. 2nd line should read "Vassall" instead of "Vassal."

CREDITS

Unavoidably omitted in the text are here given with keen appreciation.

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INDEX

1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1.

- A**BBATINEWAT, sachem of the Massachusetts tribes, ii, 165; confers with Standish, iii, 356.
- Aborigines, The, ii, 12.
- "A Brief Rule to Guide the Common People," iii, 283.
- Acadians, deportation of the, iii, 272, 274, 277, 278.
- "Adam and Eve, The," Draper's newspaper, iii, 290.
- Adams, Abigail, wife of John Adams, ii, 15.
- Adams, Charles Francis, ii, 243.
- Adams, John, iii, 322.
- Adams, John Quincy, "the Old Man Eloquent," ii, 191; iii, 168.
- Adolphus, Gustavus, i, 72.
- Aegir, The, i, 106.
- "A fleet with flags arrayed," Poem, iii, 268-270.
- African slave trade, i, 282.
- Age limit purely subjective, ii, 339, 340.
- Ahasistari, Huron chief, ii, 396.
- Ainsworth's Psalm Melodies, i, 95, 152; ii, 125, 182; iii, 16.
- Albigenses, The, i, 14, 16.
- Alcoholic drinks, Use of, ii, 78.
- Alden, Elizabeth, first female child born in New England, ii, 189.
- Alden house, The, in Duxbury, ii, 189.
- Alden, John, in Southampton stocks, i, 265; ambassador for Myles Standish, ii, 180; Bible of, ii, 105; in Hockings imbroglio, ii, 344; last survivor of signers of Mayflower Compact, ii, 191; married Priscilla Mullens, ii, 50; romance of, told by Longfellow, ii, 175-190.
- Alden, John, son of John and Priscilla Alden, ii, 316 iii 215
- Alden, Sarah, ii, 188.
- Alderman shot and killed King Philip, iii, 163.
- Aldredge, Mrs., a maid in family of Samuel Gorton, iii, 64.
- Alexander, (Wamsutta) son of Massasoit, iii, 123.
- Alfred the Great, i, 106.
- Algonquin Indians, The, ii, 78, 364.
- Allamance, Battle of, iii, 293.
- Allerton, Isaac, lands in Assistant's chair, ii, 83; starts trading post with Shirley, ii, 318, iii, 85; began to disobey instructions, iii, 85; last survivor of Mayflower passengers, ii, 206; asks for extension of time on Pilgrims' debt, ii, 277; brought Thomas Morton to Plymouth, ii, 287; tablet in N. Y. City, ii 287.
- Allerton, Mary, ii, 84, 206.
- Allyn, the clerk, foiled in keeping the Connecticut Charter, iii, 181.
- Alva, The Duke of, i, 35, 45.
- Alvarez, Pedro, i, 336.
- Ambassador Bayard, (Thomas F.), i, 116; ii, 100, 101.
- America a lost continent, i, 316; christened by Martin Waldseemuller, i, 357; England's richest outlying possession, iii, 320; settlement of, iii, 293.
- "America," the yacht, i, 373.
- American cornucopia revealed by the Indian, ii, 68; delegation to Amsterdam, in, 1920, ii, 111; delegation to the Tercentenary, i, 288.
- American Indian, The, ii, 361,410.
- Americanism as opposed to feudalism, ii, 9.
- "America's Demosthenes," (Daniel Webster), ii, 51.
- America's gifts to the world, ii, 34.
- Amsterdam, first true "city of refuge," i, 114, 150; Separatists under guidance of Robinson, i, 150; Pilgrim homes, 1, 152; Roman Catholic form of faith abolished, i, 152; Reformed religion adopted, i, 152; American delegation to, ii, 111.
- Amsterdam and Texel, i, 142.
- Amusements in New England, iii, 240.
- Anabaptism, doctrine of, ii, 322.
- Anabaptists, ii, 330.
- Anaesthetics unknown, ii, 66.
- Anawan, capture of, iii, 159; death sentence pronounced upon, iii, 160; son sent into slavery, iii, 160.
- Ancestry of Massasoit, ii, 78.

- "And the song she was singing ever since," etc., ii, 244.
- Andover burned by Indians, iii, 161.
- Andros, Sir Edmund, first royal governor of New England, iii, 183; held colonists in disdain, iii, 181; seal of New England, ii, 181; driven before Boston mob, iii, 183; jailed by New Englanders iii, 185; two attempts to escape foiled, iii, 185.
- Andros Revolution in 1669, iii, 320.
- Animals brought over on the Mayflower, ii, 29.
- Ann, Cape, i, 223.
- Anne, arrival of the, ii, 39, 226; returns to England, ii, 228.
- Anne Boleyn, i, 29, 34.
- Anne of Cleves, i, 34.
- Anne, Queen, daughter of James II, iii, 184.
- Anthropology, science of, iii, 163.
- Antichrist, iii, 220.
- Antilles, The, i, 308.
- Antinomians The, ii, 330.
- Anti-Sabbatarians, ii, 330.
- Apostolical succession, i, 7.
- Arabella, The, iii, 179.
- Arabs driven from France, i, 8.
- Arbutus, trailing, i, 285.
- Archbishop of York, summer palace of, i, 118.
- Argall, Captain Samuel, imprisons Pocahontas, i, 222.
- Armada, The Spanish, i, 76, 172.
- Armenia i, 6.
- Arminians ii, 330.
- Arminianism as viewed by Barneveldt, i, 191.
- Arminius, Jacobus, i, 156, 168.
- Arnold, Rev. Samuel, of Marshfield, advocates death condemnation of innocent Indian children, iii, 159.
- Articles of Agreement, i, 161.
- Artists, Dutch, ii, 274.
- Artists, free lance, i, 164.
- Aspinet, petty chief of the Nausets, ii, 316.
- Assacambuilt, ii, 395.
- Assassination a favorite Indian method of killing, iii, 163.
- Astrolabe, The; invented by Hipparchus, i, 328.
- Atlantis, Plato's lost, i, 308.
- "At the turn of the gray and the green" (Cape Ann), Poem by Phelps-Ward, i, 372.
- Augustine and his monks, i, 2.
- Aulnay, French governor of Acadia, iii, 37.
- Austerfield Church, The, i, 120, 134; ii, 138.
- Autographs, iii, 17; Pilgrim, i, 166; ii, 9, 111; three that span to Plymouth Rock, ii, 47; of three Quakers, iii, 107; of ten members of the Witchcraft Court, iii, 200, 389, 390, 391.
- Aviles, Pedro Menendez d', i, 230, 231.
- Ayllon, Lucas Vasquez d', i, 337; captured and sent home Indians from San Domingo, ii, 388; planted colony at Jamestown, i, 216.
- B**ABBLERS, The (Lollards), i, 22.
- Babcock, Archbishop, i, 101.
- Babworth witnessed tragic scenes, i, 123.
- Balboa sights the Pacific in 1517, i, 336, 350; ii, 387.
- Balfour, Captain, at Marshfield, iii, 316.
- Baptists, Coming of the, iii, 120.
- Barentz, Dutch navigator, i, 342.
- Barbara, wife of Myles Standish, sister of Rose Standish, ii, 227.
- Barefoot, Deputy Governor of New Hampshire, ii, 346.
- Barker, Elizabeth, iii, 75.
- Barneveldt, Jan van, execution of, i, 187; testimonial to, i, 191.
- Barnstable escapes burning, iii, 161.
- Barons, War of the, 1262-1276, i, 10.
- Barrowe, Henry, imprisoned, i, 95.
- Barry recognized quotations from Bradford's book i, 100.
- Bassett, Sarah, wife of Peregrine White, ii, 199.

- Bassett, William, one of Duxbury's first settlers, ii, 111, 198.
- Batten, Edward, treasurer of Salem colony, iii, 106.
- Battle Abbey, i, 8.
- Battle of the Boyne, iii, 183.
- Baxter, Richard, backed Puritanism, i, 65.
- Bayard, Thomas F., ambassador to England, i, 116; ii, 100, 101.
- Bay Psalm Book, ii, 182; iii, 16.
- Bay State, Old, iii, 360.
- Beach grass, marron, i, 62, 63.
- Beans poled on cornstalks, ii, 68.
- Beavers at work, ii, 141.
- Bedloe's Island once owned by a Huguenot, i, 54.
- Beer drinking a hereditary custom, ii, 139.
- "Beggars of the Sea" wore the silver crescent half-moon of the Turk, iii, 100.
- Behring Strait discovered in 1728, i, 343.
- Bekker, Balthazar, author of "The Bewitched World," ii, 317; iii, 197.
- Belcher, Jonathan, iii, 308.
- Bellamy, captain of the Somerset, which shelled Breed's Hill, i, 297.
- Bellingham, Richard, iii, 108.
- Bellomont, Earl of, ii, 350; iii, 100, 193, 306.
- Benedictine monks at Blythe, i, 106.
- Benedictine nuns at Wallingwells, i, 106.
- Benson, Colemay, Rowland, and Hawkins, clergymen without the pale, i, 89.
- Bercta, Queen, i, 2.
- Bernard, Rev. Richard, forerunner of Bunyan, i, 98.
- Beza, Theodore, i, 42.
- Bible hotel, The, Amsterdam, 1, 180.
- Bible, The; as vitalizing literature, i, 124; printed in the Netherlands (twelve editions), i, 35; John Alden's, on view in Pilgrim Hall, ii, 105; names chosen for children, ii, 126, 127, 128.
- Bilboes, The, iii, 235.
- Billington, John, first murderer in Plymouth colony, ii, 313; widow publicly whipped, ii, 315.
- Billington, John, Jr., ii, 315.
- Billington, Francis, ii, 315.
- Billington Sea, ii, 315.
- Bishop, Bridgett, hanged as a witch, iii, 209.
- Bishop of Gloucester, i, 62.
- Black death, The, i, 36.
- Black fish whale, The, ii, 37.
- Blackstone, Sir William, iii, 210.
- Blackwell, Elder, disastrous settlement of ii, 278.
- Blaine Memorial Arch between Canada and the United States, ii, 93.
- Blake, Cromwell's Admiral, ships of, iii, 57.
- Blanchard, Joshua, writings of, iii, 170, 171.
- Blaskowitch, Charles, made accurate survey of Plymouth Harbor, locating Plymouth Rock in 1775, ii, 98.
- Blaxton, Rev. William, i, 134; ii, 259, 348; iii, 359.
- Block, Adrian, i, 191; entered New Netherland in 1614, i, 370; discovered Housatonic, Rhode Island, i, 370; discoveries and mappings, ii, 266, 342.
- Block Island, named after Block, the Dutch captain, iii, 22.
- Blomaert, Herr, director in West India Co., ii, 264.
- Bloody Brook Massacre, iii, 142, 162.
- Bloody statutes or "The whip with six thongs, i, 30.
- Blue laws, The, iii, 334.
- Boarding-houses in Boston, iii, 182 (foot-note).
- Boarding pikes on New England craft, ii, 146.
- "Body of Liberties," by Rev. Nathaniel Ward, i, 12; iii, 200, 202.
- Bogomilians or Men of Prayer, i, 6.
- Bohemia, i, 130.
- Boleyn, Anne, i, 34.
- Books on New England, iii, 287, 289; Anniversary Sermon in 1777, iii, 287; John Smith's Description of New England, iii, 287; West's Anniversary Sermon of 1777, iii, 287.
- "New England's Trials," by John Smith, iii, 287; Robert Baylis' Book on Error, iii, 289; Beginnings of New England, iii, 289.

- Boone, Daniel, ii, 384, 385, 386.
 Boone Fort, ii, 386.
 Boston Basin, ii, 296.
 Boston, bloodless revolution of, iii, 185.
 Boston Common, iii, 37.
 Boston Evening Post, iii, 169.
 Boston Gazette, iii, 283.
 Boston harbor (Vos Haven), i, 372.
 Boston harbor islands, ii, 294.
 Boston mobs, ii, 352.
 "Boston News Letter, The," iii, 290.
 Boston-on-the-Charles, outstripped by Dorchester settlement, ii, 166; Boston shrines, ii, 114; Boston saved from fire, sword, and rapine, ii, 123.
 Boston-on-the-Witham, iii, 338; Campanile church (Boston Stump), i, 138; Little Ease prison, i, 142.
 Boston, population of in 1774, iii, 315.
 "Boston Post and Advertiser, The," iii, 219.
 Boston, Puritan stronghold, iii, 92.
 Boston shrines, ii, 114.
 "Boston Stump" built 1309, i, 138.
 Boundary lines between Plymouth and the Bay colonies, iii, 58.
 Boudinet, Elias, i, 54.
 Bourne, Richard, iii, 127; spoke the Indian language, iii, 127; fostered Indian churches, iii, 161; reached the heart of the Indian, iii, 352.
 Boyne, Battle of the, iii, 183.
 Bradford, Dorothy May, autograph questioned, ii, 9; death not mentioned by William Bradford, ii, 38.
 Bradford, William, follower of Brewster, i, 134; baptized in Austerfield church, i, 120; ii, 138; baptismal record found, i, 122, iii, 84; no accurate portrait of, i, 128; mastered French and Dutch in Leyden, i, 164; glossed temptations of the town, i, 187; catches foot in deer trap on First Excursion, ii, 30; diary of, ii, 153; lost his first wife, Dorothy May, ii, 227; marries Alice Carpenter Southworth, ii, 39; journeys to Salem, ii, 279; began governmental career 1621, ii, 83; objects to keeping Christmas Day, and rebukes slackers for not working, ii, 202; author of "New Plimouth," ii, 348; wrote "Ode to Boston," ii, 335; wrote "History of the Plimouth Plantation," i, 63, 99, 150, 258; ii, 102; writes on death of Brewster, iii, 68; laments wickedness of the times, iii, 59; autograph of, iii, 80; death of, iii, 82; statue of, iii, 79.
 Bradstreet, Ann, New England's first poetess, iii, 186, 187.
 Bradstreet, Simon, governor, ii, 302; iii, 186.
 Braintree, President Harding's Ancestral home, ii, 165.
 Brant, Joseph, ii, 74, 390, 391.
 Breadmakers, The, ii, 312.
 Breed, farmer, redoubt built on cow pasture of, iii, 162.
 Breede Straat (Broadway), i, 161.
 Brereton, 1602, i, 342; with Gosnold in 1602, i, 198, 373; built fort at Cuttyhunk, i, 373.
 Brest, naval force sailed from, iii, 264.
 Breton, Cape (Prima Vista), i, 352.
 Brewer, Thomas (Brouwer), i, 177, 178, 179.
 Brewster, Fear, second wife of Allerton, ii, 84.
 Brewster, Jonathan, in charge of Windsor Post, iii, 40.
 Brewster, William, acts as page to Davison, as ambassador to Dutch Republic, i, 84; later pilots Pilgrims to the Dutch Republic, i, 84; "mein host" of the manor house, i, 124; aided in holding the Pilgrim church together, i, 136; attempted arrest of, i, 180; no accurate portrait of, i, 128; publishes fifteen revolutionary books, i, 180; printing establishment seized, i, 180; under espionage, i, 238; intended wife a passenger on the Anne, ii, 227; death of, iii, 66; supplications of, iii, 356; references: i, 275; ii, 6, 83, 116, 124, 135, 140.
 Brewster spring, ii, 59, 114, 138.
 Bridges, William, ii, 226.
 Bridget, the name of Cromwell's daughter, i, 177.
 Bridget, Two Bridgets among the Pilgrims, i, 177.

- Bridget, widow of John Robinson, never came to America, i, 178.
 Bridgewater burned by Indians, iii, 161.
 Bright, Francis, joins Salem colony, ii, 254.
 Britain's Rock of Thanet, i, 7.
 British Devonshire sailor men, Four, i, 191.
 British House of Lords, i, 230.
 Britons, Flight of, i, 1.
 Brittany, Fishermen of, 1, 226.
 Brooke, Lord, ii, 343.
 Brookfield, Desecration of, iii, 144, 161.
 Brothers' War, The, i, 177.
 Brouwer, Thomas, i, 177, 178, 179.
 Brown, Anne, ii 302.
 Brown Island's treacherous bar, ii, 56.
 Browne Robert, one of the first Separatists, i, 78, 89; hired warehouse for worship, i, 156; followers settled in Amsterdam, i, 156; teachings of, iii, 338.
 Brown, Sir Thomas, greatest physician in England, iii, 211.
 Brownists, The, i, 154, 276; ii, 240, 254.
 Brumhead, Rev. Hugh, i, 16.
- Bryant's "Thanatopsis," ii, 126.
 Buffum, Joshua, iii, 105.
 Bulfinch, Charles, architect, iii, 172.
 Bullivant, Benjamin, iii, 193.
 "Bundling," Custom of, iii, 258.
 Bunyan, John, author of "Pilgrim's Progress," i, 98.
 Burden Ann, iii, 116.
 Burgh, Lord, owner of Gainsborough Manor, i, 108.
 Burial Hill, iii, 324.
 Burial Hill watch tower, ii, 139.
 Burial tablets, Types of, ii, 150.
 Burke, Edmund, brands the English nation, iii, 278.
 Burleigh, Lord, i, 78.
 Burns' poem, "The Cotter's Saturday Night," ii, 105.
 Burroughs, John, hanged as a witch, iii, 205.
 Busby, John, ii, 348.
 Button, William, servant of Samuel Fuller, i, 294.
 Buzzard's Bay Indians, iii, 348.
 Buzzard's Bay post, ii, 284.
 Buzzard's Bay shallop, ii, 209.
- C**ABOT, JOHN, i, 350, 352, 359; search for short route to Cathay, i, 352; fastened continent in England's crown, i, 354; portrait sometimes mistaken for son, i, 354.
 Cabot, Sebastian, pensioned by Edward VI, i, 354.
 Cabot, Lucius and Saucius, younger sons, i, 354.
 Cabrillo, i, 336.
 Calvin, John, i, 42; 57, 60, 62, 65; doctrine of, iii, 239; tomb of, i, 71; spirit of, iii, 15.
 Calvinists, i, 96; iii, 300.
 Calvinists and Unionists indorsed by Prince Maurice, i, 234.
 Cambridge College, England, claimed three Mayflowerites as her alumni, ii, 83.
 Cambridge Common, electioneering contest, iii, 34.
- Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming," ii, 391; iii, 274.
 Canada (New France), ii, 364; method of handling the vacillating Indian, ii, 364.
 Cannon mounted on Plymouth Hill, ii, 90.
 Canonchet, escape at South Kingston, iii, 159.
 Canonicus(chief of the Narragansetts, ii, 33; sends rattlesnake skin to colonists, ii, 208.
 Canute, son of Sweyn, the Dane, i, 46, 106; commands the aegir to stop, i, 106.
 Cape Ann, i, 223; ii, 167; the charter, iii, 255; Pilgrim settlement, ii, 255; holdings purchased by Winslow, ii, 256; schooner, i, 373; battle for Cape Ann, ii, 257.
 Cape Charles, i, 223.
 Cape Cod, i, 223, 324; ii, 167, 168, 233; christened Cape de Croix, i, 363;

- christened Cape Bevechier, i, 370;
christened "The Sickie Cape," i, 373;
called "Cape of Many Names," i, 296;
iii, 324; change of contour, ii, 255;
landing, ii, 1; map of Wm. Hubbard,
ii, 139; map of the twentieth cen-
tury, ii, 139; tidal wave, iii, 19.
- Cape Cod and Cape Ann fishermen, ii,
148.
- Cape Cod Beach, first night bivouac at
East Harbor, ii, 32.
- Cape Cod Canal, ii, 32; passes through
Bourne and Bournedale, ii 33.
- Cape Cod Indians, ii, 374, 375; treaty
with Pilgrims, ii, 375; neutral during
King Philip's War, ii, 220.
- Cape Henry memorial, i, 223.
- Captain's Hill, ii, 118.
- Captains of Industry of the seventeenth
century, iii, 177.
- "Careswell," Edward Winslow's home-
stead, ii, 51; iii, 75.
- Caricatures, iii, 246.
- Carleton, Sir Dudley, ambassador of
James I to the Hague, i, 180; at-
tempts to arrest Brewster, i, 180.
- Carlyle, Thomas, reference, i, 138;
"Hail to Thee, Poor Little Ship," i,
275; "Ship of the Gods," i, 282.
- Carpenter, Agnes, first wife of Dr. Sam-
uel Fuller, ii, 211.
- Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, iii, 280.
- Carr, Robert, one of the four English
commissioners, ii, 331; robbed the
Plockhoy settlement, ii, 332.
- Carthusians, The, at Axholme, i, 106.
- Cartier, Jacques, i, 208, 337; iii, 293.
- Cartoonists enter arena of religious con-
flict, i 164.
- Cartwright, George, one of the four Eng-
lish commissioners, ii, 331.
- Cartwright, pioneer Presbyterian, i, 166.
- Carver, Catherine, wife of the governor,
death of, ii, 282.
- Carver, John, first governor, sent to
London, i, 232, 292; meets Massasoit
for peace treaty, ii, 78; last official act,
ii, 82.
- Castine, Maine, ii, 167.
- Castine trading post, Loss of, iii, 348.
- Castle Island fortified, iii 176.
- Catechumens, Indian, iii, 126.
- Cathari (Catharii or Ketters), i, 6, 14,
16.
- Cathay, Fair, kohinoor of the Orient, i,
325.
- Catherine of Aragon, i, 28, 34.
- Catholicism, Roman, i, 8.
- Cat Island Point, i, 330; reached by Co-
lumbus, i, 333.
- Cattle, first in Plymouth, ii, 258.
- Cavaliers of Virginia, i, 11.
- Cecil, Lord Burleigh, i, 78, 294.
- Celtic cross in San Francisco to Drake,
ii, 403.
- Cemetery, Boston's first, ii, 61.
- Century of Achievement, the maligned
thirteenth, i, 14, 18.
- Chalgrave field, iii, 50.
- Champlain, Samuel de, i, 206; father
and admiral of New France, iii, 294;
began first permanent French settle-
ment at Quebec, i, 342; carried dis-
may to Indians, i, 367; discovered
Lake Champlain in 1609, i, 342; first
American writer to illustrate his own
text, i, 367; lieutenant-governor of
New France, i, 364; fought the battle
of the centuries in 1609, i, 366.
- Chanco, young Indian convert, i, 224.
- Charity, The, ii, 334; iii, 342.
- Charles, Cape, i, 223.
- Charles I, iii, 50.
- Charles I Charter, ii, 296, 298; iii, 1.
- Charles II, "The Merry Monarch," iii,
86; exhumed the body of Oliver Crom-
well and hung it in chains at Tyburn,
i, 28; captured New Amsterdam, i,
356; ii, 266; gave Pilgrims and Puri-
tans a free hand, iii, 86, 87.
- Charles V, Emperor of Spain, father of
Philip II, i, 50, 170.
- Charles IX, i, 44.
- Charles Martel ("The Hammer"), i, 8.
- Charleston, South Carolina, possesses the
oldest Huguenot (or Lutheran) church
in the United States, iii, 300.
- Charlestown, Massachusetts, iii, 295.
- Charter, Cape Ann, ii, 255.

- Charter of Charles I, iii, 176, 179, 181;
 London Company, ii, 2; New Nether-
 land, ii, 261; Rhode Island, obtained
 by Roger Williams, ii, 329; William
 III, ii, 298, 299; Connecticut, iii, 181.
 Charters, Royal, made light of by Wil-
 liam Bradford, ii, 9; the two New
 England, i, 304.
 Charts of New England coast, i, 359.
 Chatham escapes burning, iii, 161.
 Chauncey, Charles, second president of
 Harvard College, ii, 135, 339; iii, 105;
 no portrait of, ii, 340.
 Cheeshahteaumuth, Caleb, iii, 354.
 Chelmsford burned by Indians, iii, 161.
 Children's hang day, ii, 70.
 Childs, Robert, iii, 71.
 Chilton, James, Death of, ii, 52.
 Chilton, Mary, first to step on Plymouth
 Rock, ii, 59; married John Winslow,
 ii, 60, 199; grave of, ii, 60; will of,
 ii, 60.
 Chinese invention, paper money, i, 214.
 Choir Alley (Klok Steeg), i, 161.
 Christian Empire of the West founded on
 Plymouth Rock, ii, 174.
 Christianity, i, 22, 174; ii, 136.
 Christiansen, Captain, i, 370.
 Christison, Wenlock, iii, 107.
 Chronology, Pilgrim, Framework of, ii,
 130-131-132-133-134.
 Church and State separated, i, 52;
 merged by Puritans, iii, 329, 330.
 Church, first fully organized free church
 in America, i, 52; Dutch Reformed, iii,
 294.
 Church, Benjamin, spectacles on view in
 Pilgrim Hall, ii, 107; Indian fighter,
 iii, 136, 142; killed King Philip,
 iii, 152; captured Anawan, iii, 159;
 promises disregarded, iii, 161.
 Churches, Indian, iii, 161; of Plymouth,
 ii, 137, 138; Leyden Church, ii, 137;
 Fort Church, ii, 137; First Steeple
 House, ii, 137; Third Church, 1683,
 ii, 137; Fourth Church (counting the
 Fort Church) built 1744, ii, 137;
 Fifth Church, The, built 1830, ii, 138;
 Sixth Church, The, built, 1892, ii, 138;
 Roger Williams, ii, 322.
 Churchill, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough,
 iii, 184.
 Churchmen, free and State, iii, 356;
 communities of, iii, 156.
 Cistercians, The, at Rufford, i, 106.
 City of Refuge (Amsterdam), i, 114.
 Civil liberty, The dawn of, i, 10.
 Civil war clouds loom in England, ii, 284.
 Clark, John, mate of the Mayflower, ii,
 57.
 Clark, John Rogers, broke the sword
 handed him by Virginia, ii, 331.
 Clark, Nathaniel, satellite of Sir Edmund
 Andros, iii, 179.
 Clark's Island, i, 200; ii, 54, 57, 118; iii,
 320, 324.
 Clavos and Esclavos "arrived" in 1528,
 i, 337.
 Clergymen without the pale, i, 89.
 Clipper ships, i, 373.
 Clyfton, Rev. Richard, ii, 135; first pas-
 tor of Scrooby Church, i, 96; remains
 in Amsterdam, i, 160.
 Coale's blacksmith shop, ii, 141.
 Coale's Hill, named for a hillock in
 Buckinghamshire, England, ii, 93, 230;
 burial spot of half the Pilgrim com-
 pany, ii, 148; first "God's Acre," iii,
 324.
 Coast Indians, iii, 352.
 Cobb, Ebenezer, born 1694; died 1801;
 lived in three centuries, ii, 49; signa-
 ture of, ii, 49.
 "Cock Pit of Europe," i, 174.
 Codfish (Cape Cod turkey); the talisman
 that started America's settlement, i,
 226; backbone of New England, i,
 226; golden codfish hangs in legisla-
 tive hall of Boston, Massachusetts, i,
 228; "aristocracy," i, 230.
 Coke, Sir Edward, close associate of
 Roger Williams, ii, 322.
 Cole, Samuel, iii, 62.
 Cole's Inn, iii, 62.
 Coligny, Gaspard de, Admiral of France,
 i, 44, 230.
 Colonial life, Primness of, iii, 247.
 Colony of New Plymouth, iii, 164.
 Colonists' diet, ii, 227.

- Columbus, (Christoval Colon); landing of, ii, 289; reference to, i, 320, 323, 327, 328, 333; laid corner stone in our temple of fame, i, 324, 326, 327; life history of, i, 334; death of, i, 335.
- Columbus, Hernando, son of the Admiral, i, 363.
- Commissioners stealthily appointed by Massachusetts Bay Colony, iii, 71.
- Commissioners, English, ii, 331.
- Common, Cambridge, electioneering contest on, iii, 34.
- Common Prayer, Book of, pitched into flame and flood, i, 131.
- Commonwealth, A federal, ii, 333.
- Communism, Tryout of, i, 233; ii, 234.
- Community house at Patuxet, i, 64.
- Compass needle, Discovery of, i, 290.
- Compact made in Utrecht, the "Cradle of Liberty" ii, 134.
- Conant, Roger, governor of Cape Ann, ii, 253; leaves for Beverley, ii, 256, 257; joins Naumkeag settlement, ii, 276.
- Conant's (Governor's) Island, ii, 167.
- Confederacy, The New England, iii, 84.
- Confederacy, The Iroquois, iii, 127.
- Confederation of the colonies, iii, 338.
- Conference between Winslow and Massasoit, ii, 145.
- Conformist earth purifiers, i, 36.
- Congregational church in England, The first, i, 89.
- Congregational Hall, Memorial, iii, 51.
- Congregational ordination, Validity of, i, 8.
- Congregational singing, ii, 243.
- Congregationalism, i, 8, 131; iii, 69.
- Congregationality versus Ministeriality, ii, 243, 244.
- Congress, The old, i, 54; First Continental Congress, The, iii, 280.
- Connecticut and New Haven lands settled, 1635-38, ii, 342.
- Connecticut Charter, iii, 181.
- Connecticut, Invasion of, iii, 39.
- Connecticut (Long) River, ii, 341.
- Conquest, Oriental methods of, i, 3, 6.
- Conscience, Freedom of, i, 78.
- Constant, The, i, 212.
- Constantine Council of 1414 bore fruit in the deaths of Huss and Jerome, i, 72.
- Constitution of the United States, iii, 321.
- Continental Congress, ii, 235.
- Contract with the undertakers expired in 1627, ii, 276.
- Cook, Caleb, iii, 156; Francis, ii, 84; Captain James ("Britain's Columbus"), i, 343; John, Mayflower passenger, ii, 150.
- Cooke, Elisha, co-commissioner with Mather, iii, 189.
- Copper chain of authority, The, ii, 145.
- Coppin, Robert, suggests landing at Manomet Headland, ii, 53.
- Copping, John, i, 89.
- Copp's Hill burying-ground, iii, 336; tomb for unbaptized infants, iii, 336.
- Corbitant, subordinate chief of Nemasket, ii, 211.
- Corey, Giles, died a torturing death, iii, 209, 211.
- Corey, Martha, refuses to recant, iii, 209.
- Corlaer, Covenant of, i, 366, 368; ii, 78.
- Corlaer "The Great," i, 368; ii, 402.
- Corn, the staff of life in America, ii, 34; given to the world by the American continent, ii, 34.
- Coronado, the Spaniard; searches for Cibola, i, 337, 350; died in 1549, i, 357.
- Coronado, Poem on, 358.
- Corsa, Juan de la, scrawled coast line map in 1500, i, 359, 360.
- Cortez, Hernando, conquers Mexico, i, 336, 345.
- Cortoreal, Miguel and Gasparo, Portuguese discoverers, i, 362.
- Corwin, Sheriff George, hanged Bridgett Bishop, iii, 209.
- Cotton, John, reference to, ii, 135, 324; iii, 30, 54, 127; fled to Boston, Massachusetts, iii, 74; death of in 1652, iii, 93.
- Cotton, John, of Hampden, iii, 224.
- Cotton, Mary, wife of Increase Mather, iii, 224.
- Council of New England, i, 104; appoints Gorges governor-general of its holdings, ii, 225, 236, 246, 254.

- Council of War, Election of, iii, 176, 177.
 Court, Representatives to the General, iii, 319.
 Courtroom in Boston where the Pilgrims faced the judge, i, 142.
 Covenant of Corlaer, i, 366, 368; ii, 78; First Church of Plymouth, ii, 136; Grace, The, taught by Ann Hutchinson, ii, 311; iii, 30.
 Covenanters, The, iii, 295.
 Coventry, Henry, iii, 178.
 Coverdale Bible, The, i, 30.
 Coverdale Myles, Bible of, i, 22, 34.
 Cradock, Matthew, president of the English Board, ii, 135, 285; never left England, ii, 300.
 Cradock House in Medford, named for Matthew Cradock, ii, 135.
 Cradle of Liberty, The Dutch, ii, 134.
 Cradle, The White, now in Pilgrim Hall, ii, 39.
 "Croaton," ii, 44.
 Crockett, Davy, ii, 385.
 Cromwell, Bridget, Death of, iii, 57.
 Cromwell, Oliver, references, i, 28, 50, 76, 78; iii, 47, 50; embarkation to New England stopped, iii, 51; his hour of triumph, iii, 51; at Dunbar, iii, 299.
 Cross, Occidental, i, 345.
 Crossed Swords, The, iii, 322.
 Currency, Substances used as, i, 214.
 Curtis, Wright and Langley, American aeroplane inventors, i, 276.
 Cushman, Robert, sent to London from Holland by Pilgrims, i, 232; agreement with Weston re self labor clause, i, 235, 258; makes one journey to New Plymouth, i, 236; arrives on the Fortune, ii, 200, 202.
 Cushman, Thomas, married Mary, daughter of Isaac Allerton, ii, 206.
 Customs, Strange and crude, iii, 8, 9, 163.
 Cuttyhunk, one of the Elizabeth Islands, i, 356, 373.
 Cyclic-coincidence, New England's eighty-sixth year, iii, 320.
 Czecho-Slovak Republic, i, 130.
 D
 ANES slain by the English, i, 46.
 Danforth, Samuel, iii, 126.
 Daniel, Mary, Deposition of, iii, 206.
 Dare, Virginia, daughter of Eleanor and Ananias Dare; born 1587, ii, 43; child pet of the Lost Colony, ii, 43.
 Dark Ages, The, i, 2.
 David, Canny Scotch, ii, 276.
 Davenport, John, iii, 74.
 Davenport, Captain Richard, struck dead by lightning, ii, 163.
 Davesac saw Cape Cod in 1542, i, 337.
 Davis sailed into his strait in 1585-87, i, 342; made map in 1542, i, 363.
 Davison, John, Queen Elizabeth's daring navigator, ii, 151.
 Davison, William, Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State, i, 84.
 "Day of Doom," by Michael Wigglesworth, iii, 238.
 Dean, Judge, adopted by Indians, ii, 373, 374.
 Dearborn, Colonel, saved the day in Newtown battle, ii, 386.
 Death an enigma in the seventeenth century, iii, 15, 171.
 Death of Queen Elizabeth, i, 86.
 Death penalty, Limit of the, ii, 69.
 Death winter, The, ii, 149.
 Debt of white man to his Indian brother, ii, 68.
 Declaration of Independence, Signing of, iii, 322.
 Deer Island, owned by Col. Shrimpton, iii, 124.
 Deerfield burned by Indians, iii, 145, 151.
 Deed of the site of Providence, Rhode Island, ii, 328.
 De Forest, born in New Avesnes, i, 234.
 "Defender of the Faith," a title bestowed on Henry VIII by Leo X, i, 34.
 De Frontenac, Guy, i, 336.
 De la Roche, Marquis, 1598, i, 342.
 De Latour, Charles, French governor of Acadia, iii, 37.

- De Gama, Vasco, discovers passage to India, i, 336.
- De Leon, Ponce, i, 336.
- Delfshaven Reformed Church, i, 242, 246; ii, 223.
- Delfshaven, Pilgrim departure from, i, 252.
- De Lunez, Don Pedro Triste, i, 336.
- Deman, John, Quaker, iii, 103.
- De Montfort, Denys, French writer, i, 309.
- De Monts, Sieur (Pierre du Guast), planted colony at Port Royal, i, 206, 342.
- De Rasières, Isaac, gives description of Plymouth, ii, 229, 230, 264.
- Dermer, Captain, partner of Captain John Smith, i, 208.
- De Ruyter, the Dutch Admiral, iii, 86.
- De Soto, Ferdinando, discovers the Mississippi, i, 337, 346; references, ii, 382, 387.
- Devonshire proverb, "Pity without relief," etc., ii, 331.
- Dexter, Lord Timothy, ii, 349.
- Dexters, The (father and son), ii, 15.
- Diet of Plymouth colonists, ii, 227.
- Discovery, The ship, i, 212; ii, 225.
- Discovery of the western world claimed by the Chinese, i, 318.
- Dismal, Fanny (called Old Jewel), held as witch, iii, 208.
- Dissenters, Pilgrim Separatists, saw the light through Puritan eyes, i, 118.
- Divine Righters, The eleven, i, 302.
- Divine right of kings, Dogma of the, i, 10.
- Dollar mark, pillars of Hercules, i, 214.
- "Domine," Dutch title for pastor, ii, 140.
- Dorchester Heights, ii, 165; iii, 313.
- Dorchester's settlement started by Gov. Winthrop's company, ii, 165, 166.
- Dorchester settlers invade Windsor, iii, 40.
- Doty, Edward, ii, 315.
- Downes, Thomas, mayor of Plymouth, i, 268.
- Drake, Sir Francis (Admiral), i, 81, 191, 193, 194, 339; ii, 402, 403.
- Drake's Bay, ii, 403.
- Draper, Margaret, widow of Richard Draper, iii, 291.
- Draper, Richard, publishes "The Adam and Eve," iii, 290.
- Dresses of Queen Bess, i, 78.
- Dudley, Joseph, son of Thomas Dudley, iii, 114; appointed governor by William III, iii, 193.
- Dudley, Thomas, deputy-governor in office, ii, 302.
- Dunbar (a Tory), punished, iii, 323.
- Dunkirk pirates, i, 192.
- Dunster, Henry, first president of Harvard College, iii, 116, 117.
- Dustin, Hannah, Heroism of, iii, 137, 233.
- Dutch, The, Iroquois treaty, i, 51; influence in America, i, 52, iii, 230, 339; marriage books, i, 166; built fort as trading post, i, 342; intermarriage, i, 186; Pilgrims sail from free Holland to free America, i, 258; founded the City of Holland on Lake Michigan, i, 260; founded Hope College, Michigan, i, 260; federal republic, i, 233, 234, 237; records distributed to the American delegates at Leyden in 1920, i, 166; records, keeping of, i, 244; Republic built on the common school and freedom of religion, i, 172; spoken and written by the Pilgrims, i, 187.
- Dutch League of Provinces, formed in 1579, ii, 134; toleration, ii, 126; Reformed Church, New York, ii, 137; iii, 293; claim to territory, ii, 266; references, ii, 157, 273, 274, 343, 384; East India Co., iii, 288.
- Dutch "Water Beggars" wear the Turkish crescent, i, 172.
- Dyer, Mary, sentenced to death; executed on Boston Common, iii, 96.

- E**AGLE, The, that destroyed its nest, i, 74.
- Ear lopping, iii, 100.
- Earl, Ralph, iii, 160.
- Earthquakes, iii, 302.
- East Haddam (noisy Machemoodin), iii, 302.
- Eastham escapes burning, iii, 161.
- Eastham Harbor, scene of the First Encounter, ii, 53.
- East India Company's warehouse at Delfshaven, services held in i, 246.
- Eastman, Dr. Charles, son of a Sioux father, ii, 409.
- East Men, The, from Boston-on-the-Witham, ii, 166.
- Eaton, Francis, i, 288.
- Ecumenical Council, Protestant, i, 72.
- Edict of Nantes, i, 46.
- Education, free schools adopted from the Dutch, ii, 140.
- Education not for women, iii, 12.
- Edward the Confessor, i, 8.
- Edward I and Edward III objected to religious dictation, i, 18.
- Edward II, Puritan persecutor, i, 18.
- Edward III, The Puritan King, i, 18; death of, i, 23.
- Edwards, Jonathan, views of, iii, 220; colonial preacher and metaphysician, iii, 309.
- Eekhof, Dr., finds genuine John Robinson autograph, i, 177, 220.
- Eel, Captain, his treatment of Dartmouth Indians, iii, 160.
- Eels excavated by steam shovel in 1920, ii, 71.
- Eencluyts, Hans Janse, artilleryman, ii, 341.
- Eleazer, Indian attending Harvard in 1679, iii, 128.
- Electioneering on Cambridge Common, iii, 34.
- Elder Blackwell's settlement in Virginia, ii, 278.
- Election (Pulpit) Rock, ii, 118.
- Electorship, The law of, ii, 52.
- Elias, The vessel, enters Boston Harbor with four commissioners, ii, 331.
- Eliot Bible printed at Harvard, iii, 15.
- Eliot, John, apostle to the Indians; educated at Cambridge, Eng., iii, 124; completes Indian Bible in 1663, iii, 124; life threatened, iii, 124.
- Elizabeth, Queen, poses as "Defender of the Faith," i, 75; reign of, iii, 288.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, Wedding of, iii, 75.
- Emigration without license a penal offense, i, 148.
- Emigration increased about 1640, iii, 175.
- Emmanuel College, i, 32.
- "Empire of the West," Launching of the, i, 105; ii, 16, 174.
- Endecott, John, arrives at Naumkeag, ii, 253, 276, 279; his pear tree, ii, 161; cuts cross from king's colors, ii, 324, 326; the iron-hearted governor, iii, 22, 24, 93, 102; submitted to the king's dictum, iii, 107, 163, 178.
- England slips from the Roman Catholic enclosure, i, 74.
- English commission a failure except in capturing New Amsterdam, ii, 331, 333.
- English freedom, dawn of, i, 2.
- English governor abolishes free public schools, ii, 268.
- English India Trading Company, iii, 288.
- English inns, ii, 134.
- "English Mercury, The," earliest British newspaper, iii, 282.
- English pioneers keep grip on the land, i, 212.
- English, Thomas, helmsman on Third Excursion, ii, 56.
- Englishmen, coast guard, iii, 301.
- Episcopus, Simon, successor to Jacobus Arminius, i, 158, 168.
- Eric the Red, i, 318.
- Ericson, Leif, i, 316, 322.
- Espejo founded Sante Fé in 1582, i, 339.
- Established Church, The, ii, 249.
- Ethelberht, Anglo-Saxon king, i, 2.
- Ether, Discovery of, claimed by Dr. Jackson, ii, 68.

- "Evangeline," poem by Longfellow, iii, 274, 275, 276.
 Exchange medium, need for, ii, 246.
 Executive Council, The first, ii, 246.
 Excursions, The Three, ii, 58.
- F**ACT-LAND intied with Myth-Land, i, 128.
 Fair Cathay, Kohinoor of the Orient, i, 325.
 "Faire House, The," ii, 258.
 Faith, The Pilgrim, i, 128.
 Falls, Fight at Great, iii, 162.
 Falstaff, Lucy, ii, 393.
 Familists, ii, 330.
 Faneuil, Andrew, said to have built the first greenhouse, ii, 159.
 Faneuil Hall, ii, 252.
 Faneuil, Peter, a Huguenot, i, 54; ii, 159.
 Farel, i, 42.
 "Fathergone Dinely," Origin of the name, ii, 128.
 Faunce, Elder Thomas, ii, 98.
 Federal Republic formed by the Dutch in 1579, i, 95; leads way for British commonwealth, iii, 185.
 Federation of New England, iii, 164.
 Fen lands, i, 144.
 Feudalism, despotic, i, 14.
 Fire Brigade, First American, ii, 94.
 First Church of Plymouth, ii, 136.
 First Congregational Church in England at Southwark, i, 152.
 First Continental Congress, The, iii, 280.
 First Encounter, The, ii, 56, 75.
 First Excursion, The, ii, 28, 32.
 First steeple house; built on north side of the Square, ii, 137.
 Firste Streete, ii, 112.
 Firstling-quartette, ii, 43.
 Firstlings, iii, 18.
 Fish and fashion ruled New England's settlement, i, 226.
 Fish revenue laws, ii, 225.
 Fisher, Mary, set out for Jerusalem, iii, 100.
 Fishermen of Cape Cod and Cape Ann, ii, 148.
 Fishing Fleets, nomadic, ii, 256.
 Fishing without hooks, ii, 68.
 Expense of sea trip variously estimated, i, 284.
 Experimental plantations of New England, iii, 281.
- Fitz, Rev. Richard, or Robert, shepherded the London Church, i, 88, 89; iii, 338.
 "Five grains of corn," ii, 205.
 Flag with thirteen stripes and Union Jack bonfired, iii, 291.
 Fleet Prison, iii, 72.
 Flemings and Walloons, The, i, 35.
 Flemish Cap, The, breeding-ground of the octopus, i, 309.
 Flemish weavers at Oxford, i, 20.
 "Flesh pots of Egypt, The," ii, 158.
 Flokko, the Norseman, i, 335.
 Florida, Conquest of, i, 346.
 Florida settlement of Huguenots or Lutherans, i, 7.
 Fonseca, Bishop, caused execution of Balboa, i, 350.
 Food of prisoners in Guildhall; cooked in three-century-old kitchen, Boston, Eng., i, 144; luncheon for Baptist and Congregational ministers of Lincolnshire and the American delegates to Pilgrim Tercertenary in 1920 cooked in same kitchen, i, 144.
 Food supply, ii, 102, 151, 196.
 "Fool's Gold," sent to England, ii, 69.
 Football played on Boston Common in 1637, ii, 204.
 Forefathers' Day, ii, 57.
 Forefathers' Rock in Plymouth Harbor, i, 7; its several removals, ii, 96; proof of its identification, ii, 98.
 Forefathers' Song, Our, iii, 252, 253.
 "The place where we live is a wilderness wood" (Forefathers' Song), iii, 252, 253.
 Forefathers, The four leading, iii, 66.
 Foreordination, Doctrine of, i, 182.
 Forest cathedral, Improvised, i, 216.
 Forks, Pilgrim, ii, 110.
 Formalism lacking in Pilgrim worship, i, 134.
 Foster, John, Boston's first printer, signature of, iii, 290.

- Fort Church, The, ii, 92, 116, 137, 210, 230; iii, 80, 324.
- Fort Hill, ii, 149.
- Fort Independence, first Puritan stronghold, ii, 162; harbored "Sam. Adams' regiments," ii, 164.
- Fort New Hope, ii, 341.
- Fortune, The, second Pilgrim ship to reach Cape Cod, ii, 198.
- Foxcroft, Rev., ii, 340.
- Fox, George, iii, 93, 96, 100, 101.
- Fox sisters, The, iii, 320.
- Francis, I., i, 40.
- Franecker, Dutch University of, ii, 326.
- Frankland, Sir Henry, ii, 159.
- Franklin, Abigail, mother of Benjamin Franklin, iii, 309.
- Franklin, Benjamin, ii, 196; iii, 308, 309.
- Franklin, Josiah, iii, 309.
- Frazer (1806), i, 343.
- Free churches in and about Scrooby, i, 136.
- Free churchmanship, Swing towards, iii, 57, 176.
- Free churchmen, i, 128, 154, 161.
- Freeman's oath, The Pilgrim, ii, 138.
- Free Quakers, ii, 16.
- Free school system copied from the Dutch, ii, 140.
- French Reformed Church of Carolina, iii, 295.
- Friends' faith summarized, iii, 100.
- Frontier three thousand miles long, iii, 302.
- Fruit cultivation in America, ii, 159, 160, 161.
- Fruit trees brought to Boston in The Lion, ii, 158.
- Fruitful Isle, The (Thomas Island), ii, 165.
- Fuller, Dr. Samuel, ii, 211, 278, 338; iii, 170.
- Fuller, Samuel, nephew of Dr. Samuel Fuller, ii, 211, 227.
- Fulham Palace Library, ii, 102.
- Germaine, Lord, ii, 395.
- "Gertrude of Wyoming," poem by Campbell, iii, 274.
- Giant squid, The, i, 309.
- Gifford, Rev. Robert of Laughton, i, 96.
- Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, planted English flag at Newfoundland, i, 191, 208; sets French crew adrift, i, 197; hurled into raging flood, i, 198, 339; patent of 1578, i, 196.
- Girling, shipowner, iii, 37.
- Gilbertines, The, at Mattersey, i, 106.
- Gloucester, Bishop of, i, 62.
- Gloucester-Cape Ann imbroglio, iii, 348.
- Gloucester (Stage Rocks), ii, 167, 256.
- "God and the Bees" (poem), ii, 244.
- Godspeed, The, i, 212.
- Goffe, Thomas, of London, i, 284.
- Goffe, William, the regicide, defended Hadley, ii, 349; fought under Cromwell, iii, 150; died in home of Rev. John Russell, iii, 152.
- Golden age of nations, countries, cities, and families, i, 126.
- Golden Gate, the, iii, 360.
- G**AGE, General, iii, 316.
- Gage, Thomas, last of the royal governors, iii, 193.
- Gainsborough and Scrooby Pilgrims, i, 12.
- Gainsborough Church, i, 114.
- Gainsboroughites, i, 154.
- Gainsborough meetings in 1602, iii, 338.
- Gainsborough, Olde, Architecture of, i, 118.
- Gallup, John, recaptures Oldham's craft, iii, 21.
- Gardiner, Christopher, iii, 42.
- Gardiner, Lion, iii, 39.
- Gardiner's Island, iii, 39.
- Garrison, William Lloyd, iii, 101.
- Gaspel, Father, ii, 396.
- Gates, Sir Thomas, i, 202.
- "Generals, The," a sect in harmony with the Pilgrims, ii, 226.
- Geneva Lake, i, 37.
- Geneva version of the Scriptures in use by the Pilgrims, i, 22.
- George I and II, Hanoverians, iii, 184.
- George III, Revolutionary War king, i, 202.

- Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, ii, 403.
 Golden Hill, Liberty pole erected on, iii, 293.
 Gomar, i, 168.
 Gomez, Estavan, i, 336.
 Good, Sarah (a witch), iii, 206.
 Goodman, Master, Death of, ii, 37.
 "Good Newes from New England," by Winslow, ii, 348.
 Goodrich, the missionary, reached the heart of the savage, iii, 352.
 Gookin, Indian teacher, to the, iii, 124.
 Gorges family kept Pilgrims in state of unrest, ii, 344.
 Gorges patent, The, ii, 347.
 Gorges, Robert, ii, 236, 237; iii, 348.
 Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, ii, 17, 135.
 Gorges, William, ii, 238.
 Gorton, Samuel, breeder of discord, ii, 126; iii, 64, 65.
 Gosnold and Brereton, first Englishman to reach Massachusetts, i, 373.
 Gosnold, Bartholemew, i, 198, 200; made straight-away trip to America, i, 198; carried twenty settlers across the sea, i, 198; obtains first patent from James I, i, 202; settled at Cuttyhunk, i, 356.
 Gospel succession held to by Pilgrims, i, 7.
 Grampus Bay, ii, 53, 54.
 Graveyard of Cape Cod (Peaked Hill Bar), i, 297.
 Gray, 1792; i, 343.
 Great Awakening, The, iii, 308, 310.
 "Great Harry, The," i, 354.
 Great Hill (Massachusetts) tribe of Indians, ii, 162.
 Great Meadow Creek at Eastham or Wellfleet Harbor (same as Grampus Bay), ii, 53.
 Great North Road, The i, 136; ii, 106.
 Great Privilege of 1477, The, ii, 240.
 Greene, Gardiner, ii, 159.
 Greene, Richard, brother-in-law of Weston, ii, 211.
 Greenwich land division, ii, 254.
 Greenwood, John, hanged in 1593, i, 96.
 Gregorian calendar used by Pilgrims, ii, 246.
 Gregory XI, last French pope, i, 12, 22.
 Grenville, Admiral, sails to Roanoke, ii, 45.
 Grimsby on the Humber River iii, 339.
 Groton burned by Indians, iii, 161.
 Guiana, Factors against, i, 186, 216, 230.
 Guinea, The, enters Boston Harbor with four commissioners, ii 331.
 Guildhall, The ancient, i, 108, 262.
 Guilford, Settlement of, iii, 40.

HADLEY burned by Indians, iii, 150, 161.

- Half Moon, The, named for the Turkish crescent, i, 172; iii, 100.
 Hakluyt, Rev. Richard, author of book on the New Land, i, 202; author of "Divers Voyages," i, 316; tomb in Westminster Abbey, i, 316.
 Hampden, John, visits Plymouth, iii, 50.
 Handmaid, The ship, reaches Patuxet, i, 40; ii, 188.
 Hanging of three murderers, iii, 18.
 Harding, President, forecasts a world brotherhood, iii, 321.
 Harlow House (later the Doten House), ii, 116, 192; iii, 80.
 Harlow, Sergeant William, ii, 116.
 Harold, Death of King, i, 8.

- Harrington, Jonathan, last survivor of Lexington Minute Men, iii, 314.
 Harris, Benjamin, owner of "Public Occurrences," iii, 282.
 Harris, Professor Rendel, of Cambridge University, England, i, 286.
 Harrison, (General) and Tecumseh, ii, 382.
 Harrison, the collector, beaten by mob, ii, 353.
 Harvard College, Motto of, ii, 324; graduated but one Indian, iii, 12, 128, 354.
 Harvard lectureship founded by Gov. Dudley, i, 7.
 Harvard, Rev. John, ii, 150.
 Hatfield burned by Indians, iii, 161.
 Hatherly, Timothy, lost magisterial office, iii, 92.

- Haussmann's plan to control Paris anticipated by the Pilgrims at Plymouth, ii, 230.
 Haverhill attacked by Indians, iii, 137, 232.
 Hawkins, Sir John, i, 191.
 Hawkins, sailed west in 1562, i, 338.
 Hawthorn, the English Mayflower, i, 285.
 Haynes, Gov., ii, 326.
 "Heart of a Puritan, The," ii, 308.
 Heeren Straat, i, 161.
 Helluland (Flat-Stone-Land) or Newfoundland, i, 318.
 Hengist and Horsa, i, 1.
 Henry, Cape, i, 223.
 Henry Hudson's ship, replica of, i, 294.
 Henry of Navarre, the white plumed knight, i, 46, 78, 230.
 Henry VII, i, 28, 354.
 Henry VIII, fosters the Coverdale Bible, i, 74; held court in Gainsborough's Guildhall, i, 108; references, i, 29; ii, 107.
 Henry Street Episcopal Church, New York City, iii, 167.
 Herbert, George, ii, 340.
 Hercules, Pillars of, symbol on dollar mark, i, 214.
 "Here rest the great and good" (poem), ii, 48.
 Heretics, Four hundred, burned at the stake by Mary Tudor, i, 39.
 "Hester Prynne, A," of Plymouth, ii, 130.
 "Hiawatha," poem by Longfellow, ii, 36.
 Hibbens, Ann, hanged, iii, 203.
 Hickman, Anthony, i, 107.
 Hickman, Lady Rose, i, 107.
 Hickman, William, i, 107, 111.
 Hicks, Dr., the royalist, iii, 317.
 Higginson, Rev. Francis, "Farewell to England," ii, 337; 254.
 Highland Hill Light, i, 297; ii, 168.
 High Pole Hill, ii, 255.
 Hill Top Farm of Myles Standish, ii, 118.
 Hilton, William, ii, 204.
 Hingham meeting house, 105.
 History of free churches in England, i, 136.
 "History of the Plimouth Plantation," i, 63; ii, 258.
 Hobomok, the Pinesse Indian guide, ii, 73, 211.
 Hockings, John, imbroglia, ii, 343.
 Holbein's portrait of Sebastian Cabot, i, 354.
 Holland a refuge land, i, 95.
 Holland emigrants to England, i, 50.
 Holland, Final Pilgrim days, i, 240.
 Hollanders, The, i, 176.
 Holmes, Obadiah, iii, 120.
 Holmes, William, erects trading post at Windsor, ii, 341.
 Hood's map, 1592, i, 364.
 Hooker, Bishop, i, 108.
 Hooker, Richard, convincing author, i, 65; refuses to wear robes of the Bishop of Gloucester, i, 62.
 Hooker, Rev. Thomas, i, 51; refugee in Holland, iii, 42; headed emigration to Connecticut, iii, 44.
 Hope College, Michigan, founded by the Dutch, i, 260.
 Hopkins, Sir Matthew, British Witchfinder General, iii, 211.
 Hopkins, Oceanus, i, 294.
 Hopkins, Samuel, ii, 259.
 Hopkins, Stephen, ii, 143, 315.
 Hore, Captain, i, 336.
 Horsford, Professor Eben N., i, 312, 314.
 Hosmer, Rev., writes of East Haddam earthquakes, iii, 302.
 Hour glass in pulpit, Use of, iii, 4.
 "House of Bondage, The," iii, 104.
 House of Commons, The first, i, 18.
 Howard, Catherine, i, 34.
 Howland, Jabez, iii, 159.
 Howland, John, ii, 50, 150, 344.
 Hubbard, William, pastor in Ipswich, ii, 314.
 Huddleston, Captain John, ii, 210.
 Hudson, Henry, English explorer, i, 210; discovers the Hudson, i, 342; christened Cape Cod "New Holland," i, 368; references, i, 234; ii, 266, 289; exploring ship the "Half Moon," i, 172.
 Huguenot Church, oldest in the United States, iii, 300.
 Huguenot in a cask, i, 264.

- Huguenots, The, i, 7, 40, 52, 223, 230, 231; iii, 295, 296, 298.
- Hull, England, i, 144, 145.
- Hull, John, mint master of Massachusetts, ii, 156.
- Hull, Judith, married Samuel Sewall, ii, 156.
- Humber River, iii, 339.
- Humfry, John, deputy-governor of Massachusetts colony, but never installed, ii, 302.
- Humphrey, Robert, employed to prevent cancellation of charter, iii, 179.
- Hunt, Rev. Robert, at Jamestown, i, 216.
- Hunt, Thomas, scoundrelism of, ii, 73; sells Cape Cod Indians into slavery, iii, 350.
- I**CANOUGH, Chief, Skull of, ii, 110.
- Iceland reached by the Norsemen, i, 318.
- Identification of Plymouth Rock, ii, 98.
- "I love to think of old Ipswich town," poem by Appleton Morgan, ii, 53.
- Immigration checked, iii, 175.
- "Independent," a word coined by John Robinson to designate the first Independent Congregational Church, i, 186.
- Indians:**
- Indian allies, Mohegan, ii, 377; barometric instruments, ii, 376; border warfare, ii, 122, 372; catechumens, iii, 126; census never made, ii, 366; children, death condemnation advocated, iii, 159; churches, iii, 161; converts, iii, 130; corn, ii, 68; dances, meaning of, i, 367; ii, 373; references, ii, 69, 71, 78, 102, 370, 372, 373; iii, 160, 163; warriors killed by Indians, iii, 162, 163; tribes under Massasoit, ii, 215; villages of Christian Indians, iii, 127; visits curtailed, ii, 145; war whoop, ii, 85.
- Indian The, the only real American, ii, 410.
- Individualism, i, 72.
- Infant salvation, iii, 6.
- Ingham, Mary, accused as a witch, ii, 316.
- Hunter, Rev. Joseph of York, with Savage of Boston, finds Bradford's baptismal record, i, 122.
- Hurons and Iroquois bury the hatchet in 1921, ii, 409.
- Huss, John, of Bohemia, i, 69, 130.
- Hutchinson, Ann, advocate of the Doctrine of Grace, iii, 29; opposes teachings of Boston's Puritan clergy, iii, 29; first known woman suffragist, iii, 30; her cause espoused by Sir Harry Vane, iii, 34; fled to Rhode Island, then to New Netherland, iii, 36, 322; tomahawked by Indians, iii, 36, 374 (statue).
- Hutchinson, Thomas, Tory Governor (called "Stingy Tommy" by the rabble), ii, 99, 352, 353.
- Innocent III, excommunication of heretics, i, 14.
- Inns, iii, 63; Ship Tavern, King's Head Tavern, Queen's Head Tavern, Ship in Distress, State Arms.
- Inquisition, The Holy, 1197-1207, i, 16, 44.
- "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," ii, 123.
- Intermarriage with the Dutch, i, 186.
- Introduction, XXIX-L.
- Inventors, Aeroplane, i, 276.
- Invincible four, The, iii, 82.
- Ipswich, Location of, ii, 53.
- Ireland, iii, 983.
- Ireson, Floyd, iii, 323.
- Ireton, General, his treatment of the Irish, iii, 57.
- Irish, Coming of the, iii, 58.
- Iroquois, Confederacy, The, iii, 127.
- Iroquois, The, made friends with the Dutch, i, 366; Covenant of Corlaer, i, 366; menace French settlements in America for a century, i, 367; reference, ii, 78.
- Irving, Washington, i, 265; ii, 274; caricatures of the New Netherlander, iii, 327.
- "Isaiah, The Second," called the Great Unnamed, iii, 24.

"I see it all like a chart unrolled,"
(Samuel Sewall), poem by Whittier,
ii, 155.

JACKSON, DR., of Plymouth, claimed
the discovery of ether prior to Dr.
Morton, ii, 68; iii, 75.
Jackson, Lydia, married Ralph Waldo
Emerson, ii, 68; iii, 75.
Jackson, Richard, i, 116.
Jacob, The ship, brought John Winslow
from England, ii, 253.
Jacobs, Joel, attended Harvard College,
iii, 128.
James I of England (James VI of Scot-
land) called the "Wiseest fool in
Christendom," i, 102, 104, 105; grants
land to chartered companies, i, 102,
199; attempts to crush colonists by the
Cape Ann chater, ii, 355.
James II, ii, 266.
Jamestown, landing of first permanent
English settlers, i, 202, 214, 216.
"Jamestown of New England, The,"
(Pemaquid), i, 210.
Jamestown of Virginia, The, ii, 319, 320.
Jamestown, Settlement of, i, 212; ii, 278,
289.
Japan, Fillmore's opening of, ii, 147.
Jacques, Father, ii, 396.
Jawtawahoo, Chief, married Lucy Fal-
staff, ostracized by his tribe, ii, 393.
Jay, John, of Huguenot stock, i, 54.
Jefferson, Thomas, a Cornish Welshman,
ii, 329; iii, 322.
Jeffry, William, ii, 348.
Jenner, introduced vaccination, ii, 343.

KEMBLE, Captain, fined, ii, 350;
whips magistrates, ii, 350.
Kentish coast, The, i, 2.
Khan, Kublai, i, 328.
Kidd, Captain William (pirate), ii, 350;
references, iii, 306, 307, 308.
King's Chapel burying ground, Boston,
Mass.; ii, 61; iii, 162.
King James Bible, i, 22.
King James I patent, i, 102.

Islamism, Deluge of, turned back by
Martel, i, 8.
Isle of Fate, The, i, 22.
Isle of Mars, i, 2.

Jepson, William, i, 177.
Jerome of Prague, i, 69, 72.
Jesuit conversion of Indians, ii, 399.
Jesuit missionaries, i, 345.
Jesus College, Cambridge, England, iii,
124.
John of Barneveldt, i, 187.
Johnson, Ben, iii, 52.
Johnson, Rev. Frances, fell under the ban
of his fellows, i, 166; journeys to
America, i, 93; delegated to burn Bar-
rowe's and Greenwood's books, i, 89;
reads one and is converted, i, 89, 93.
Johnson, George, brother of Frances, i,
93.
Johnson, Isaac, ii, 302.
Johnson, Sir William, ii, 385.
Johnson, the abolitionist, iii, 164.
"Jonas cast up at London," iii, 281.
Jones, Captain Thomas (or Christopher),
ii, 15, 17, 92; orders "Wear ship"
when off Cape Cod, i, 297; references,
i, 128; ii, 15, 17, 92, 128.
Jones River at Kingston, ii, 57.
Jones, Paul, the Scotchman, i, 286.
Josselyn, John, hands down a list of cure-
alls, ii, 161.
Julian calendar used by Europe prior to
1752, ii, 246.
Jung Frau, The, i, 37.
"Justification by faith," Doctrine of, i,
126.
King John yields his crown to Pope In-
nocent III, i, 8.
King Philip's War, ii, 220; iii, 134, 147,
162.
King's men The, iii, 189.
King's Missive, The, iii, 108, 112.
Knight, Eliza, aids settlement of New
England, iii, 354.
Knowles, Admiral, impressed American
seamen, ii, 351.

Knox, of Edinburgh, John, aids in lifting Scotland from semi-barbarism, i, 57, 58; fiery utterances of, i, 57;

LABORERS on the Mayflower, number of, ii, 15.

Labrador added to Britain's domain by the Cabots, i, 354.

Lake Geneva, i, 37.

Lancaster burned by Indians, iii, 161.

Land division, ii, 246, 248, 254.

"Land of Farnesses," i, 292.

Land of Promise, The Pilgrims, iii, 342.

Land of the Midnight Sun, iii, 360.

Land, Purchase of Leyden, i, 161.

Land tenure in fee simple rarely understood by the redskin, ii, 328.

Land's End, iii, 339.

Landing Day, ii, 57.

Landing of the Pilgrims, Date of, ii, 18.

Langley, Curtis, and Wright, American aeroplane inventors, i, 276.

Larnel, an Indian who attended Harvard College, died while an undergraduate, iii, 129.

La Salle, 1785; i, 343.

Lateen sail, i, 278.

Latimer, Hugh, burned at stake, i, 12, 32; groups and strengthens Free Churchmen, i, 34; hands the New Testament to Henry VIII, i, 30.

Latin and Anglo-Saxon types of civilization, iii, 5.

Laud, Archbishop William, persecutor of Pilgrims and Puritans, ii, 102; iii, 50; kept Winslow in Fleet Prison, ii, 72; beheaded, January 10, 1645; iii, 73.

Laudonnière's colony destroyed in 1564, i, 338.

Laurens, Henry, a Huguenot, i, 54.

Laws of Plymouth, iii, 233, 234.

League Indians, The, i, 3.

League of provinces, The Dutch, formed in 1579, ii, 134.

"League of Seven States, The," an inn in eastern England, ignorantly changed to read "The Leg and Seven Stars," ii 134.

strenuous educator, i, 60; references, i, 131; ii, 140.

Korean books printed in movable type, i ii, 282 (footnote).

Le Barran, "the nameless nobleman," iii, 170.

Lee, Bridget, second wife of Dr. Samuel Fuller, ii, 211.

Le Fèvre, i, 42.

Leif Ericson (Leif the Lucky), son of Eric, the Red, i, 318, 322.

Leif the Lucky, i, 318, 322.

Leifsbudir (Leif's shacks or booths), i, 318.

Leisler, Jacob, iii, 296.

Leonard, Samuel, iii, 232.

Lescarbot, Marc, i, 366.

Leverett, Gov. John (called "War horse of the commonwealth"), iii, 47, 57, 162, 178, 183.

Levitt, Christopher, ii, 236.

Lewis and Clark, 1804, i, 343.

Lewis, Rev., of England, iii, 196.

Leyden Articles, The Seven, ii, 143, iii, 88.

Leyden Church, The, i, 40.

Leyden Church at Plymouth, The, ii, 137; bell in its tower cast by Paul Revere, ii, 137; core of the Pilgrim organization, ii, 69.

Leyden, Pilgrims in, iii, 339.

Leyden Street, ii, 112, 231; iii, 323.

Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, The, iii, 181.

Liberty, civil, The dawn of, i, 10.

Liberty, Coeval strand of religious, i, 7.

Lincoln, Abraham, Ancestors of, ii, 141.

Lincolnshire (a large part called New Holland), i, 144.

Lincolnshire, York, and Nottingham, 1, 122.

Lines by an unknown versifier on the hanging of the wrong man, ii, 213.

Linzee, John, Captain of the frigate "Lively," iii, 322.

Lion, The; lands at Charlestown in 1630, ii, 158, 287; loss of, ii, 334; iii, 342.

"Little Augustus," pensioning of, i, 6.

"Little Ease Prison" (old town gaol), Boston, i, 142, 144.

- Little James, the pinnacle; arrival of, ii, 226; wrecking, repair and return to England, iii, 342.
 Lloyd, Dr. James, ii, 159.
 Locke, John, Utopian dream of, iii, 292.
 Lodge, Hunting, of the Archbishop of York i, 136.
 Log book of Captain Jones never found, ii, 92.
 Lok's Map, 1582, i, 339, 364.
 Lollard seed sown by Edward III, i, 20.
 Lollard, Walter, the martyr (founder of the Lollards), i, 20.
 Lollards ("poor preachers"), The, i, 26.
 London Adventurers, five probably embarked with the Pilgrims, ii, 9.
 London Board, The, controlled by Puritans, ii, 248.
 London Company, Charter of, ii, 2.
 London farmed out its singing, ii, 181.
 London fire, The, iii, 59.
 London stockholders, The, iii, 348.
 Longacre street (Tremont Row), iii, 108.
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, ii, 175; poems, ii, 179, 180; "There is no death," etc., iii, 68; "A fleet with flags arrayed," iii, 268, 270; "Evangeline," iii, 274, 275, 276; poem on "Challenge of the Narragansetts," ii, 207; "Hiawatha," ii, 36.
 Long or Connecticut River, ii, 341.
 Long Parliament, The, iii, 47.
 Long Point Light burns white light, i, 297; ii, 168.
 "Lord Brethren," i, 134.
 Lorea Standish, Sampler of, ii, 106.
 "Lost Colony, The," Roanoke settlement, ii, 43.
 "Lost townites," term of obloquy used by Cotton Mather, ii, 335.
 Louis XIV, (the sun king), i, 46, 48.
 Louis XVI (known as the locksmith king), i, 40, 50.
 Louisburg, the Gibraltar of the West, Capture of, iii, 262, 264.
 Louisburg Cross, The, iii, 262.
 Louisburg Square, Boston, Mass., site of Blaxton's first home, iii, 262.
 "Love Letters of a Puritan," ii, 308.
 Lovewell, John, Indian killer, iii, 26, 27.
 Loyalists, United Empire, iii, 114.
 Lucerne, Lake, i, 37.
 Luke's account of Paul's voyage to Rome a nautical gem, i, 63.
 Luther, Martin, i, 7, 22, 29, 57, 69, 72, 131; iii 246, 392 to 399.
 Luther and Calvin, Cartoon of, i, 164.
 Lutherans in America, iii, 392; Diet of Worms, iii, 392; Dr. Seiss eulogizes Luther, iii, 392; settled on the Delaware in 1637, iii, 392; Star of the Reformation, iii, 392; Theses, Ninety-five, iii, 392; Quadricentennial of, iii, 392; Indorsed by Charles Dominick de Villers, French Catholic Bishop, iii, 393; Michellet, French Roman Catholic historian, iii, 393; at Manhattan in 1623, iii, 394; Augsburg Confession of 1530, iii, 394; Daniel Webster in his Bunker Hill oration, iii, 394; Jensen, Rasmus, first Lutheran pastor in America, iii, 394; landing on the Delaware River, iii, 394; massacre of, iii, 394; building homes, iii, 395; building of Fort Christiana, iii, 395; Campanius, John, coming of, iii, 395; Gustavus Adolphus, "Snow King of the North," iii, 395; Map of lower Delaware, iii, 395; Governor Printz, iii, 395; Torkillus, Reorus, 1639, iii, 395; fountain heads of Lutheranism, iii, 396; Holy Land (Pennsylvania), iii, 396; New Amstel, iii, 396; paved the way for Penn, iii, 396; persecution by Peter Stuyvesant, iii, 396; Mennonites and Palatinates, Coming of, iii, 397; Muhlenberg, Rev. Peter, iii, 397; Salzbargian Lutherans settling in Georgia, iii, 297; signing of Augsburg Confession close to 100 years before the Mayflower Compact, iii, 397; Muhlenberg, Rev. Henry M., iii, 398; Washington indorses Lutherans, iii, 398; Weiser, Rev. Conrad, 398; Statistics, iii, 399.
 Lyanough of Barnstable, overlord sachem of the Nausets, ii, 316.
 Lyford, Rev. John (shown as lying Lyford), ii, 249, 250; iii, 348, 349.
 Lutherans, Swedish, iii, 246.

- M**ACADAM roads, ii, 231.
 Machias trading station seized by de Latour, iii, 37.
 McCrea, Jane, Story of, ii, 290.
 McKay, Baron, translated the Lord's Prayer into Dutch, i, 248.
 McMaster, the historian, writes of the Indian war whoop, ii, 86.
 Madison, James, i, 181.
 Madoc, the Welshman, son of Owen Gwynneth, i, 316.
 Magellan (Ferdinand Magalhaen), circumnavigates the globe in 1520, i, 336; killed by Filipinos, i, 345.
 Magna Charta, The, English demanded and obtained, i, 10.
 Magna Charta of Christianity, The, "More light yet to break from the Divine Word," ii, 136.
 Maid servants on the Mayflower numbered three, ii, 15.
 Maine, Sale of, by William Gorges in 1677, ii, 238.
 Maize, (Indian corn, or mondam, or "vegetable gold"), ii, 34, 197.
 Malcontents banished by Puritans, iii, 1.
 Manhattan first called New Avesnes, i, 234.
 Manhattan Island, original cost of, ii, 270.
 Manichean sect of Paulicians enters Thrace, i, 6.
 Manomet and Scusset Rivers, ii, 284.
 Manomet Point, edging Plymouth Harbor, ii, 53.
 Manor House at Scrooby (inn kept by Brewster), i, 124; ii, 106.
 Manor houses used by Separatist pioneers for worship, i, 134.
 Map makers drew Cape Cod as an island, i, 360, 362.
 Map of William Wood, i, 378.
 Map of settlements, iii, 45.
 Maple sugar, ii, 68.
 Maps, iii, 42.
 Marat's Psalms, Singing of, ii, 243.
 Margaret of Valois, i, 46; daughter of Henry VII, i, 136; rested one night at Scrooby, i, 136.
 Margravate of Azilia, The Utopian dream of Lord Shaftesbury and John Locke, iii, 292.
 Markland (Woodland), Nova Scotia, i, 318.
 Marlboro burned by Indians, iii, 161.
 Marprelate, Martin (John Penry), i, 96.
 Marquette, the French priest, ii, 399.
 Marriage books of the Dutch, i, 166.
 Marriages, iii, 337, 338.
 Marriages, civil, iii, 72.
 Marriages, smock, iii, 258.
 Marriages in Plymouth, A trio of, ii, 50; Edward Winslow and Susannah White, John Howland and Elizabeth Tilley, John Alden and Priscilla Mullens.
 Marron beach grass committee, i, 62.
 Marsfield, Mrs., Mistaken zeal of, iii, 103.
 Marshfield farmhouse, The, iii, 69, 70.
 Marshfield, home of Gov. Edward Winslow (The land later became part of the holding of Daniel Webster, "America's Demosthenes"), ii, 51.
 Martel, Charles, "The Hammer," i, 8.
 Martha's Vineyard, iii, 138.
 Martin, Christopher, treasurer of the Pilgrim Company, i, 234; ii, 8, 9.
 Maryland settled in 1632, i, 343.
 "Mary Price, The," an instrument of punishment, iii, 238.
 Mary, Queen of Scots, goes to the scaffold, i, 84.
 Mary Tudor (Bloody Mary), 1, 39.
 Mason, Captain John, with Underhill plans Pequot attack, ii, 377; iii, 26; a telling factor in settlement of New England; ii, 345, 346; attempts to follow Ann Hutchinson's teachings, iii, 29; a model sheriff, iii, 29.
 Massachusetts Arrow-Shaped Hill or Great Hill tribe of Indians, ii, 162.
 Massachusetts Bay Co., The, ii, 276.
 "Massachusetts Gazette, The" became a Government paper in 1768, iii, 290.
 Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings of the, ii, 148; poem printed by Mass. Hist. Soc. "Here rest the great and good," ii, 148.

- Massachusetts, Settlement of, ii, 278.
- Massacres: Huguenots, i, 7; Virginia colonists, i, 224; ii, 210; St. Bartholomew's Day, i, 44.
- Massasoit, Indian chief, Ancestry of, ii, 78; nursed to health by Winslow, ii, 214; treaty with, ii, 72, 76; friendship for colonists cools, ii, 224; demands head of Squanto, ii, 224; sons of, ii, 144; refuses to change thirty-nine Manitous for one God, ii, 376; death of in 1661, iii, 123, 371.
- Mather, Cotton, Views of, ii, 330; clerical slave owner, iii, 127, 169; author of "Memorable Providences," iii, 219; character of, iii, 220, 221, 222, 223; pedestals Ann Bradstreet with Hypatia, iii, 187.
- Mather dynasty, The, iii, 218.
- Mather, Increase, father of Cotton Mather, iii, 186, 189, 224; writes of King Philip's taking off, iii, 157; enlarges on Chauncey's death, ii, 340; marries Mary Cotton, his step-sister, iii, 224; obtains new charter signed by William III, iii, 188.
- Mather, Rev. Richard, of Dorchester (footnote), iii, 218.
- Maurice, Prince, i, 187; clash with John Barneveldt, 187; indorses Unionists and Calvinists, 234.
- Mavericke, Samuel, co-commissioner with Childs and Vassal, ii, 260; iii, 71; one of the four English commissioners, 331.
- May, Dorothy, of Wisbeck, first wife of William Bradford, ii, 227; possibly self-drowned in Provincetown Harbor, 227.
- Mayflower, The, log never found, i, 63; reaches Southampton, 266; size of, 272; one hundred and two Pilgrims packed in her, 272; heads for wilderness, 272; wrongly portrayed with a jib, 278; had three masts, 278; lateen sail, 278; name first used, 285; may have been broken up in 1625, 286; owners of, 286; size of, 288; fitted out for voyage at Southampton, 292; grounds anchor at Provincetown, 292, 296; anchors in Plymouth Harbor, 292; landing at Cape Cod, ii, 2; homeward sail of, 88; swung at moorings over five months, 92; Mayflower again reaches New England in 1629, ii, 286, 334; overloading of, iii, 340; escapes wrecking on the outer bar of Cape Cod, 342.
- Mayflower Compact, Bas-relief of, i, 38; date of signing, ii, 24; iii, 88; signing, 372.
- "Mayflower Descendant, The," ii, 15.
- Mayflower lineage, The searcher of, ii, 14.
- Mayflower relics, in Pilgrim Hall, ii, 51; iii, 255.
- Mayflowers, The three Southern, the Godspeed, the Constant, the Discovery, i, 212.
- Mayhew, Rev. Jonathan, reached the heart of the savage, iii, 352.
- Mayson, John, Mayor of Boston, England, i, 26.
- Medfield, Attack on, iii, 142; burned by Indians, 161.
- Medici, Catherine de, i, 44.
- "Medicine Man," The Indian, ii, 370.
- Medium of Exchange, Need for, ii, 246.
- Meeting Houses, Hingham, iii, 103; Newbury, 103.
- Meetings in Gainsborough in 1602, and those in Scrooby in 1605 linked with the final confederation called the United Colonies of New England, iii, 338.
- Megapolensis, Domine, iii, 124.
- Melchizedek, i, 290.
- Memorial Congregational Hall, iii, 51.
- Memorial Day, in the Bay State, ii, 256.
- Memorial Shaft erected in 1912 at Southampton, i, 262; Mayflower model on its apex, 262.
- Memorial Tablet at Blaine, Washington, ii, 93.
- Menendez, Pedro, founded the first permanent settlement in the United States at St. Augustine, Fla., in 1565, i, 338.
- Mennonites (Dutch), iii, 167.
- Mercator, Netherland map-maker, 1569, i, 338; 364.
- Meresteads, ii, 114.

- Merrimac Isle, Night of death on, iii, 232.
- Merry Mount revelries, iii, 348.
- Merry Mount settlement disciplined, ii, 280.
- Methodists, Naming of, by Wesley's college mates, iii, 310.
- Meyer, F. B., of London, i, 248.
- Miantonomoh signs the deed of Providence, Rhode Island, ii, 328; tomahawked, 377; holds back the Narragansetts, iii, 24; vanquished by Uncas, 61; dined at Cole's Inn, 62; sold Rhode Island, 62.
- Michaelius, Domine, wrote letter to Holland, ii, 265.
- Middle Ages, The, ii, 359.
- Middleborough escapes burning, iii, 161.
- Mile posts connecting sister towns, iii, 376.
- Milford Haven, home of Martin Pring, i, 200.
- Military commander, First, ii, 65.
- Millenary Petition to banish the Prayer Book, i, 104.
- Miller, Joaquin (Cincinnatus Heine), poem on Columbus, i, 331.
- Millstones, from mill where the First Dutch Reformed Church in America held sessions, ii, 267.
- Milton, John, i, 116.
- "Ministeriality," i, 242.
- "Ministerialists," British so-called by Washington, iii, 314.
- Ministeriality versus Congregationality, ii, 243.
- Ministers who ruled New England, Autographs of, iii, 59.
- Minuit, Peter, sponsors Dutch Reformed Church, ii, 137; bought Manhattan Isle for twenty-four dollars, 137; Governor of New Netherland, 264; his letter to Governor Bradford, 264.
- Minute Men, at Lexington, iii, 162; from Plymouth, 312; fought in overnight redoubt, 313; bivouacked at Winter Hill, 313; fortified Dorchester Heights, 313; pay of, 316.
- Missionaries, Christian and Jesuit, Methods of, iii, 130.
- Missionaries, Jesuit, i, 345.
- Mississippi, Discovery of, by De Soto, i, 346.
- Mobs, Boston, ii, 352.
- Mohawks, The, i, 367.
- Mohawk Indians, iii, 163.
- Mohegans, The, allies of the English, iii, 159; Canonchet turned over to, 159.
- Mollie Brown's Cove, i, 144, 212; Pilgrims captured at, 212; iii, 339.
- Monasteries razed by malcontents, i, 107.
- Moncton, Colonel, active in deportation of Acadians, iii, 272, 274.
- Money, Coining of, iii, 178.
- Money, Paper, a Chinese invention, i, 214.
- Monhegan Isle, trading post purchased by Bradford and Winslow, ii, 276.
- Mont Blanc, i, 37.
- Montfort, Simon de, Earl of Leicester, i, 18.
- Monument Hill, Ten-acre summit of, ii, 117, 120.
- Moorish pirates, ii, 146.
- Moors, defeated at Tours by Charles Martel ("the Hammer"), i, 8.
- Moravia, i, 69, 130.
- More, Jasper, Death of, ii, 52.
- More, Richard, Grave of, ii, 60; original tombstone, 61.
- Morgan, Appelton, Poem by, ii, 53.
- Morlaix, i, 226.
- "Morning Stars of the Reformation," i, 130.
- Morrell, Rev. William, ii, 237; the silent conformist, 348.
- Morton, Marcus, chosen Governor of Massachusetts by one vote, iii, 322.
- Morton, Nathaniel, i, 285; first mentions the name "Speedwell" in 1669 in his book, 285; author of "New England Memorial," ii, 103; secretary of Plymouth Colony, 151.
- Morton, Dr., ii, 68.
- Morton, Thomas, brought to Plymouth by Isaac Allerton, ii, 287; reshipped to England, 280, 281, 287; overlord at Merry Mount, 346.
- Moseley, Samuel, iii, 140.

- Motto of the Swiss Federal Republic, ii, 10.
- Mount Desert, iii, 18.
- Mount Hope, scene of King Philip's death, iii, 153.
- "Mourt's Relation," ii, 348.
- N**ANEPASHEMA, the Indian King, whites visit grave of, ii, 167; body suspended on poles, 167.
- Nanepashema's widow, Search for, ii, 167; later married Welcomb, the medicine man, 167; gave Somerville its deed, 167.
- Nantes, Edict of, i, 46.
- Narragansett Fort, annihilation of, ii, 122; Indians declare war on colonists, 206; challenge described by Longfellow, 207; conference, iii, 22; fort, annihilation of, 136; swamp fight, 1676, 148.
- Narragansetts, The, come to Boston to treat with Puritans, ii, 327; iii, 147; nearly annihilated, 148.
- Narvaez, Pamphilo de, explored Florida in 1528, i, 337, 345; made Governor of Florida by Charles V, 345.
- Nation Building, i, 3, 4; iii, 300.
- National Church, the, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ii, 226.
- Nationalism, Problem of, ii, 52.
- Naumkeag given the name of "Salem," ii, 278.
- Navigation laws ignored, iii, 177.
- NC-4, aeroplane of fourteen tons, crew of six, landed at Plymouth, i, 273, 276.
- Negro loft seen in some churches, iii, 167.
- Negro slavery; negro slaves shipped, i, 282; bought by Virginians in pity, iii, 167; first negro slaves brought to Virginia, 167; first legal blow struck against, 169.
- Negroes, Stolen African, iii, 167.
- Nemesis pursuing the Pilgrims, iii, 330.
- Netherlanders, The, changed England from an agricultural to a manufacturing country, i, 35.
- Netherlands, The, i, 164.
- Mullens, Priscilla, marries John Alden, ii, 50, 105; romance of, told by Henry W. Longfellow, 175-190, 258.
- Mullens, William, of Plymouth, of Huguenot blood, i, 54; one of the victims during the Death Winter, ii, 9.
- Myth-Land versus Fact-Land, i, 128.
- Netherland Weavers, i, 35.
- New Amsterdam captured by Charles II, i, 356; ii, 331; Wouter Van Twiller, 341.
- New Avesnes, i, 234.
- New Belgium (Nova Belgica), Seal of, i, 104; ii, 260.
- Newbury Meeting House, iii, 103.
- New England, ancestral seat of, i, 122; confederation, 148; charters, the two that of Charles I, 1628, and that of William III, 1691, 304; coast charts of, 359; first muster day, November 13 (or 23), 1620, ii, 21; first wash day, November 13 (or 23), 1620, 21; proves a death day, 22; confederation signed by six foremost colonists, 84; churches, 135; commerce suffers from pirates, 146; versifier, lines by, 213; council of, 225; confederation, Rhode Island left out of, 329; covenant, iii, 87; federation, ninety-two towns in the, 164; trade, century-long triangle of, 166; "New England Vindicated," pamphlet by Cotton Mather, 189; Weekly Journal, 225; fathers of, numbering fifty-two, 240, 246; amusements, 240; schools, 247; Dame's School, 247; Primer, 252; Courant, 283; eighty-six year cyclic coincidence, 320; colonies, union of, 321; consummation of union of, 321; South, 324.
- "New England Memorial," by Nathaniel Morton, ii, 102.
- "New English Canaan," by Thomas Morton, ii, 282.
- Newfoundland, Banks of, frequented by French fishermen, i, 198.
- New France, iii, 293.
- New Haven, Settlement of, iii, 40.
- Newhouse, Thomas, iii, 95.
- New Holland (Lincolnshire), i, 144.

- New Hope, Fort, ii, 341.
 New Jersey, settled in 1664, i, 343.
 Newman, Rev., with his parishioners, iii, 153; pursues King Philip, 153.
 Newman's Barn, iii, 44; planters' meetings held in, 44.
 New Netherland, controlled by Dutch Progressives, i, 52, 234; charter, ii, 261; was never asked for a shilling, iii, 164.
 New Plymouth, Colony of, iii, 164.
 Newport waxed fat on the slave trade, iii, 169.
 Newport windmill tower, i, 320; looked upon as Norse Ruin, 322.
 New Rochelle, chosen and favored by Jacob Leisler, iii, 296.
 Newspapers, Sample pages of, iii, 283; "Boston News Letter," 283; "The Independent Chronicle," "Massachusetts Spy," "The Boston Gazette," "The New England Weekly Journal," 285.
 New Testament (footnote), i, 124; the Greek, 174; study of, 174; reading of, iii, 356.
 Newtown Battle, August, 29, 1779, ii, 386.
 Newe Towne, mentioned as head of the colony, iii, 291.
 New World, crusaders, i, 158; coast line of, 198; ii, 1; firstlings, 38; angels of birth and death, 38.
 New Year's Day, Date of, in British Isles, ii, 246.
 New York, settled in 1624, became a province in 1664, i, 343; sets up self-government, iii, 185; population in 1774, 315.
 Niagara Falls, ii, 141; hides and furs obtained near, 141.
 Niantics, The, ii, 393.
 Nicolls, Colonel Richard, Letter of, ii, 266; successor to Governor Stuyvesant, 266; one of the four English Commissioners, 331.
 Nijkerk, home of the Van Rensselaers and Van Curlers, i, 368; bronze tablet erected, 368.
 Nipmucks, The, iii, 144.
 Nobles, Victory of the, aided by Archbishop Langton, i, 10.
 Noddle's Island (East Boston), ii, 260; residence of Mavericke, 260.
 No Man's Land, i, 103.
 Nonconformism argued by Wycliff at Bruges, i, 22.
 Nonconformist tendencies fanned into life, i, 16, 20, 36.
 Nonconformity in England, i, 106, 128.
 Nordenskjold, 1879, i, 343.
 Norman and Breton fishing industries obtained foothold in New England, i, 359.
 Norris, Mary, first wife of Allerton, ii, 84; death of, 84.
 Norsemen, The, i, 312; outlined the Atlantic shore, 312.
 Northfield, Desecration of, iii, 144, 161.
 North, Lord, ii, 395.
 North Street, Boston, ii, 113.
 North Virginia Company, i, 102.
 Norton, Humphrey, iii, 89; faces Governor Thomas Prentice in court, 91; book of, iii, 89.
 Norton, John, iii, 89-93; extolled Ann Bradstreet's poems, iii, 187.
 Northwest, Settlement of the, i, 356.
 Norumbega Cottage, on Wellesley's campus, i, 322.
 Norumbega, (*l'enorme berge*), i, 363.
 Nottingham, York and Lincolnshire, i, 122.
 Nottingham Church, England, iii, 96.
 Nova Scotia, Treaty of, ii, 238.
 Novatians, The, i, 6.
 Novi Belgii, or Nova Belgica, i, 104.
 "Novum Belgium," i, 234.
 Noyes, Nicholas, Rev., of Salem, iii, 205.
 Occidental Cross delighted the Spaniards, i, 345.
 Odontology, Science of, ii, 109.
 Oglethorpe (James, not Charles, as wrongly printed), Edward, ii, 402.
- O**ATES, co-commissioner with Mather, iii, 189.
 Oceanus Hopkins, born in mid-ocean, i, 294; son of Stephen and Elizabeth Hopkins, i, 345.

- 403; settled Georgia, 403, built Savannah, Fredericks, etc., 403; christened "The Beloved," 404; took Tomochichi to England, 404.
- Ojeda, 1499, i, 336.
- Old Bay State, Commonwealth of the, iii, 360.
- Oldham, John, tries to disrupt the colony, ii, 250; expulsion of, 252; paddled by musket butts, 252; effort to undermine belief, iii, 348.
- Old Jordans hostelry, i, 286, 288.
- "Old Man Eloquent" (John Quincy Adams), iii, 168; waged eight-year fight against slavery, 168; died in his seat at the capital, 169.
- Old Ostrich Inn, i, 144.
- Old South Church, The, effective prayer from its tub pulpit by Thomas Prentice, ii, 122, 123; used as riding school by British, iii, 272.
- Olde Boston, (called Ikanho or Icaho and later St. Botolph), i, 138.
- Ollyver, Magdalene, married an Edward Winslow in 1594, iii, 75.
- P**ABODIE, WILLIAM, ii, 189; letter from, iii, 289; tombstone, 388.
- Pagans, conversion of hindered by Christian governments, iii, 181.
- Palace, summer or hunting lodge of the Archbishop of York, i, 136.
- Palatine, The, oldest of the seven hills of Rome, i, 6.
- Pamet Cape, i, 296.
- Pamet River, ferry route, ii, 32.
- Panuco River, i, 345.
- Paragon, The, arrives with Robert Gorges, ii, 235.
- Parish, Lizzie, bewitched (?) by Tituba, iii, 203.
- Parish, Rev. Samuel, iii, 203.
- Parkman's description of covetous traders on the James River, ii, 90.
- Parliaments, Long and Short, iii, 47, 177.
- Parr, Catherine, i, 34.
- Parry, 1790, i, 343.
- "Particulars, The," had conformist leanings, ii, 226, 239; trickery of, iii, 348.
- Pasaheigh, Chief of, i, 223; his skull cleft by Captain Smith, 223.
- Omens, iii, 328.
- Onrust, The (or Restless), forerunner of "the Blessing of the Bay," i, 370; the first colonial built vessel, iii, 22; constructed by Adrian Block, 22.
- Opechancanough, Chief, i, 46, 223; plans massacre, 224; Opekan or Opequan Creek named for, 223; ii, 210.
- "Open Door," The, on the Canadian frontier, ii, 94.
- Optimism enthroned, iii, 6.
- Ordination, Congregational, validity of, i, 8.
- Orthodoxy reckoned more than righteousness, iii, 352.
- Oriental, methods of conquest, i, 3.
- Ottoman Empire, The, more tolerant in religious matters than the papacy, iii, 100.
- Over Rule, The, shown in every step of the Pilgrim path, i, 40.
- Over-Sea-Empire, i, 134.
- Oxford, Massachusetts (now Worcester), largely settled by Huguenots, iii, 296.
- Patent, James I., death of, ii, 347.
- Patent, Pierce, ii, 199.
- Patent, Plymouth, initial, ii, 199; oldest State paper in New England 199; lived but one year, 199; signatures on, 199; taken out in name of John Pierce, 199; Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, one of the signers of, 199.
- Paths to comfortable living taught by the Indian, ii, 68.
- Patrick, Captain, leads colonists in Pequot attack, ii, 377.
- Patton, C. W., author of "The Seminole Defiance," iii, 147.
- Patuxet, Landing at, i, 64; the name not changed to Plymouth until July, 1621, ii, 82.
- Patuxet Beach, ii, 140.
- Paulicians, Manichean sect of, i, 6.
- Paul's voyage to Rome, Luke's account of, i, 65.
- Paved roads, ii, 23.
- Payne, Elizabeth (Hester Prynne), ii, 252.

- Peace treaty, The first, ii, 78; signed April 1, 1621, 82.
- Pear tree, Governor Endecott's, ii, 161.
- Pecksuet killed by Standish, ii, 217; iii, 356.
- Pedraries, satellite of Bishop Fonseca, i, 350.
- Pella, Iowa, founded by the Dutch, 1, 262.
- Pemaquid ("The Jamestown of New England"), Settlement of, i, 210, 216; settled coevally with the Jamestown of Virginia, 210; furnished corn and other supplies, 210; ruins of, 373; fort captured by Indians and French, ii, 319; iii, 86.
- Penal laws of Plymouth, ii, 317.
- Penn, William, the Cornish Welshman, ii, 329; one of America's major prophets of spiritual freedom, 329; purchased land from the Six Nations.
- Pennsylvania women's stone settle placed on Coale's Hill, iii, 372.
- Penobscot-Castine region of Maine, ii, 167; iii, 16; trading station, 37; seized by Aulnay, 37.
- Penology in Dutch Republic, iii, 159.
- Penry, John (Aphenry), the first real Pilgrim Father, i, 89; (Martin Marprelate), 96.
- Penn-Sylvan colony founded by William Penn, i, 52.
- Pennsylvania, settled in 1662, i, 343.
- Pepperrell, Sir William, led troops that captured Louisburg, iii, 262.
- Pepys, New England's Samuel, ii, 33; built for and presented to Indians a meeting-house, 33.
- Pequot War, The, ii, 122, 209, 377-379; iii, 19, 24, 26, 60-61, 134.
- Peretang, Ohio, ii, 283; peace pipe smoked by the Hurons and Iroquois, 283.
- Persecution in New England, Reasons for, iii, 122.
- Persia, i, 3.
- Peruvian Temple of the Sun, ii, 383.
- Pesyn Hof, The, founded by Jan Pesyn and his wife, i, 161.
- Peterhouse, Cambridge, seed plot of Puritanism, i, 275.
- Peters, Hugh, caricature of, iii, 246.
- Phelps-Ward, Poem by, i, 372.
- Philadelphia founded by William Penn, i, 52; iii, 315.
- Philip, King (Metacomet), son of Massasoit, ii, 107, 122; signing of treaty by, 331; iii, 123; pursuit of, 153; escapes from the Taunton Big Swamp, 152; shot by Alderman, August 12, 1676, 155; head cut off by Captain Church, 156; body quartered and hung from tree, 156, 163.
- Philippe, Auguste II of France, i, 16, 35, 44, 170.
- Phips, Sir William, Maine backwoods boy, iii, 189; led van of the Ten Royal Governors, 189; the North-Ender, 194; burial of, 218.
- Phips, wife of Sir William accused as witch, iii, 199.
- Pierce, Captain, master of the Lion, ii, 334; in charge successively of four ships, 334.
- Pierce patent, The, ii, 199.
- Pieter's Kerk, Leyden, ii, 223; memorial service to Rev. John Robinson held in 1921, 223.
- Pike, Zebulon, 1805, i, 343.
- Pilgrim bones which passed through three cycles, iii, 367.
- Pilgrims, The, of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, i, 2; Gainsborough and Scrooby met blood-curdling issues, 12; tercentenary celebrated in Holland in 1920, 62; Separatist faith launched in Gainsborough in 1602, 107; take the first step towards Plymouth Rock, 120; church, story, recovery of, 122; church, founders of, 128; worship stripped of formalism, 132; location of homes, 161; autographs, 166; two fundamental principles of faith, 184; refuse financial aid, 234; confronted by intricate conditions, 238; the modern Pilgrim fathers, 258; sail from Delfshaven in 1846; 258; the phrase "Pilgrim Fathers," 284; their story lost, 316; compact, ii, 2-8; late of

- landing, 18; memorial monument at Provincetown, 23, 117; follow the Dutch motto, 57; organization, core of, in the Leyden Church, 69; life described by Bradford, 93; neither crude nor uneducated, 93; relics on view, 105; plot layout, 112; early wills, 126; framework of chronology, 130-134; church doorway at Plymouth a duplicate of that of the old Austerfield Church, 138; first visit to the site of future Boston, 162; established a trading post in Boston Harbor, 167; preëempt Boston years ahead of Rev. William Blaxton, 167; dwelling in the New World, 170; comparison with English homes, 170; hardships well borne, 206; tablet in Delfshaven Reformed Church, 223; the purpose that the spiritual should dominate the material, 226; settlement of Cape Ann, 255; amount of debt, 276, 277; church government, 280; refuse to furnish troops to fight the Dutch, 331; dreams of Empire Builders, iii, 320; dress, 329; deserted by Weston in Leyden, 339; intermarry with the Dutch, 339; compact, 340; covenant one of mingled faith and works, 356.
- Pilgrim and Puritan autographs, iii, 389, 390, 391.
- Pilgrim and Puritan ideals, iii, 1.
- Pilgrim and Puritan teamwork, iii, 359.
- Pilgrim Hall relics, ii, 104-112.
- Pilgrimage of Grace, The, i, 106.
- Pilgrims and New Netherlanders bury the tomahawk, ii, 343.
- Pilgrim Maid, H. H. Kitson, iii, 373.
- Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission, Members of, iii, 361.
- Pillars of Hercules on Spanish milled dollar, i, 214.
- "Pinched Fanatics," derisive name given the Pilgrims, i, 276; ii, 14.
- Pine Tree shilling, iii, 87.
- Pinson, Martin Alonzo and Vincent Yanzi, 1500, i, 336.
- Pioneers, English, keep their grip on the land, i, 212.
- Piracy expounded by Bellamy, Bradish, Thatch and Tew, iii, 306.
- Pirates, Dunkirk, i, 192; Moorish, Malayan and Chinese, ii, 146.
- Pitt, Sir William, i, 54, 55.
- Pizarro, Francisco, conquered Peru in 1531, not 1526, i, 345.
- Plague tale of Squanto, ii, 72.
- Plank cabins, Pilgrim, ii, 170.
- Plantation, the ship arrives with Sir Francis West, ii, 225, 226.
- Planter's House, The, later became the "Faire House" of Governor Endecott, ii, 257.
- Pleshy Bible, Wyclif's, i, 26.
- Plockhoy Settlement robbed by Sir Robert Carr, ii, 332; tablet erected at Zierik Zee to the memory of, 332.
- Plot to exterminate Plymouth Colony, ii, 215; blocked by Massasoit, 215.
- Plymouth Barbican tablet in honor of landing of NC4, iii, 386.
- Plymouth celebration 120 years ago, iii, 387.
- Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, memorial windows, iii, 377, 384; John Eliot preaching to the Indians, 377; John Milton, Cromwell's secretary, 378; Signing of Mayflower Compact, 379; last prayers of John Robinson, 380; Oliver Cromwell giving liberty of worship to George Fox, 381; John Hampton and John Pym before Charles I, 382; founding of Harvard College, 383; representative Pilgrims, 384.
- Plymouth, company, sold out to the Council of New England, i, 104; not on Cape Cod, ii, 26; First Church of, 135; its history traced, 35; covenant of the First Church, 136; settlement, the key to, 138; patent sold to the Pilgrims by John Pierce, 200; colony in danger of extermination, 215; scheme blocked by Massasoit, 215; de Rasières' description of, 229, 230; attempt to burn the town, 238; conference, 261; slow growth of, 274; reason for, 274; habits of dress, 317; trading station, iii, 37; Church, 38;

- has moving fever, 39; seal presumably lost, 182; filched by Andros in 1686, 182; combines with Massachusetts colonies, 189; laws, 233; citizens state their rights in letter to the Selectmen, 312; votes constable watch, 316; published as enemies, 316; names of Tories to be entered on record, 316; sentiments of home guard, 317; antedates all other New England shrines save one, 360; merged in the commonwealth of the Old Bay State, 360.
- Plymouth memorial to the Howland family, iii, 375.
- Plymouth Rock, i, 20; date of landing, prominent feature on the shore front, ii, 57, 58; second landing on, 59; first celebration of landing, 101; iii, 324; all paths lead back to, 360.
- Plymouth wharfrage front razed, iii, 370.
- Plymouth water front, Restoration of, iii, 361; pageant of 1921, iii, 361; Prayer-Meeting Rock, iii, 362; commercialized water front razed, iii, 362; Rock (first illustration), iii, 362; memorials, idealizing, by Oliver Wendell Holmes, iii, 362; engineering plan of water front by Charles Blaskowitch; off-shore view of Rock, iii, 362; In-shore view of Rock, iii, 364; Temple of 1922 over the Rock, iii, 364; Rock, raising and lowering of, iii, 366; sarcophagus entombing Pilgrim bones, iii, 368; sarcophagus, inscriptions on the, iii, 368.
- Pocahontas, marries Captain John Rolfe, i, 222.
- Pocasset Episode, The, ii, 211.
- Point Judith, a part of Judith Hull's inheritance, ii, 156.
- Pollard, Ann, first woman in Boston, ii, 289.
- Polyander, leading Doctor of Divinity at Leyden University, i, 160; Robinson gains victory in three debates, 160.
- Ponce de Leon, taught by Columbus, i, 334; accompanies Columbus on his second voyage, 334.
- Pontiac, the Invincible, ii, 392.
- Popham, George, 1607, i, 342; death of, 208.
- Popham, Sir John, Chief Justice, i, 45; settlement in Maine a failure, 208; Population of the thirteen colonies in 1774, iii, 315.
- Portrait painters of the time, iii, 3.
- Pory, John, Letters of, written in 1622, ii, 102; (footnote) 225.
- Potato, Cultivation of the, ii, 68.
- Poutrincourt, i, 342.
- Powhatan, Death of, i, 224.
- Pratt, Phineas, iii, 388.
- Pratt, Dr. Waldo S., published book on "The Music of the Pilgrims," i, 161.
- Prayer meeting, of nine hours, resulting in a bumper harvest, ii, 104.
- Prayer rain, ii, 232.
- Prayers over the dead, Omission of, ii, 244.
- Prence, Governor Thomas, ii, 140; pear tree of, ii, 161.
- Predestination, Doctrine of, i, 182.
- Presbyterians supposed to sponsor toleration, i, 166.
- Prescott, Colonel William, iii, 322.
- Prescott, W. H., married granddaughter of Captain John Linzee, iii, 322.
- Priest, Degory, ii, 84.
- Primer, The New England, iii, 238.
- Prince, Joanna, starts first Sunday School in America in Salem, ii, 257.
- Prince, Rev. Thomas, ii, 99; saw William Bradford's book, 99; prayer of, iii, 265; effect of prayer, destruction of French fleet, 265, 272.
- Principles of Pilgrim Faith: 1st, physical freedom as defined in Magna Charta, i, 184; 2nd, spiritual freedom as defined by William the Silent, 185.
- Pring, Martin, i, 199; builds palisade at Patuxet, 200; eighty-six years from Pring's camping on Clark's Island to the time of the Andros Revolution in 1669, iii, 320.
- Printery, The Cambridge, ii, 182.
- Priscilla Mullens, Romance of, ii, 175-190, 258.
- Prison Lane (Court Street), Boston, iii, 108.
- Privileges, Roman, i, 3.

- Proctor, Elizabeth Bassett, wife of William Proctor, iii, 212.
- Proctor, William, hanged as a witch, iii, 212.
- Protestant Life Lines thrown by an Erasmus, a Luther, a Calvin, and a Knox, i, 20.
- Protestantism aided by effort to block reform, i, 107; founded on early Christian documents, 164; march of, iii, 57.
- Proverb, Devonshire, applied to Roger Williams, ii, 331.
- Providence, Rhode Island, settled in 1636, i, 343.
- Provincetown, Sand blast dunes of, i, 62; harbor of refuge, 297; Pilgrim Memorial Monument, ii, 23; a copy of the Siena Campanile, 23, 118; a stone from Siena is set within, 23; dedicated August 5, 1910, 23; second only in height to the Washington Monument, 23; inscription on, 23; on Cape Cod, 26; shaft, 117.
- Prynne, Hester of Plymouth, ii, 252.
- Psalms, Marat's French version of the, i, 161; ii, 243.
- "Public Occurrences," one issue of, iii, 282.
- Public Schools sustained by taxation, i, 52.
- Pulpit (Election) Rock, ii, 118.
- Punishments in Plymouth, ii, 317.
- Q**UADEQUIMA, brother of Massasoit, accompanies him at Peace Treaty Signing, ii, 78.
- Quaker, The, entered through the gate left ajar, i, 126; free, ii, 16; controversy, iii, 89; belongs to church universal, 94; attempt to circle the world, 100; founders of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 103; autographs, 110; Queen's guard quartered in Marshfield, 316.
- R**ACE mind, i, 308.
- Radbod, iii, 8.
- Radicalism, Riot of, i, 131.
- Rafn, Charles Christian, World's debt to, i, 310; doings of Norsemen, i, 312.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, i, 45; attempts to settle Virginia at Roanoke, i, 342; discoveries, i, 186; tercentenary of his death, ii, 45; a great Americanizer, ii, 135, 312.
- Randolph, Edward, the collector, trouble maker, iii, 128; second visit to New England, iii, 178.
- Ramsgate and Margate, i, 2.
- Ranters, ii, 330.
- Puritans, of Massachusetts Bay, i, 2; embryonic, 7; uprising in England, 20; power manifested, 76; forum, the chief delight of James I, 101; faith, cornerstone of, 124; despot spared nothing, 131, 343; dress, ii, 86; Winthrop's Company, 88; persecutions as contrasted with Pilgrim tolerance, 126; manner of life in England, 168; Ship of State, 200; exodus from England, 284; enter harbor of Manchester-by-the-Sea, 289; settled at Shawmut, 289; characteristics of, 311; stresses reality at the expense of the symbol, 324; great emancipator of the race, 358; system allowed right of suffrage to church members only, iii, 1; laid stress on Israelitish customs, 94; many of wealth and college training, 358; cost of reaching New England, 358; posed as Nonconformists, 359; aimed to strip religion of formalism, 359.
- Puritanical inheritances, iii, 240.
- Puritanism, The coming of, 1, 8; parent of Separatistic Congregationalism, 8; spirit of, 12; rises to higher levels, 18; date of, 20; in England, 174; in England under Cromwell, iii, 47-50.
- Pym, John, aid to Cromwell, iii, 50.
- Pynchon, Sir William, iii, 57; attempts an inland settlement at Springfield, iii, 174; the Bay Path, 174; Boston burns his book, 175; returns to England, 175.

- Rapenburg, The, i, 161.
- Rasdeel, agent for Captain Wolaston, ii, 280.
- Ravaillac, Dagger of, i, 46.
- Raynor, Rev. Ralph, succeeds Smith, ii, 286; Plymouth pastor, ii, 339.
- Record Book kept for visitors in Delfshaven Church, i, 246.
- Records, Dutch, distributed to American delegates at Leyden in 1920, i, 166.
- Recreations, Dutch, ii, 273.
- Red horseman's coat, ii, 145.
- Red Jacket, ii, 392.
- Reformation, The Great, 1, 14; directed as an engine of state only in England, i, 57; growth of, i, 116; leaders of the, i, 69; seed sown by the, i, 126.
- Reformation, The French, i, 40.
- Reformed Church in America, i, 260; at Delfshaven, i, 241, 242; Dutch Reformed Church, the oldest, i, 36; Reformed faith centers in Scroobyite Separatists, i, 156.
- Reformers, "morning stars of the reformation," i, 130; flare as "lighted candles to a dying world," i, 58; twenty crusading Reformers, i, 26, 57.
- Refugees pursued and captured, i, 148.
- Rehoboth, i, 134; iii, 160.
- "Relation of the Beginnings of New England Plantation," iii, 289.
- Relics on view in Pilgrim Hall, ii, 104-112.
- Relief ship discovered in the offing by an Indian, ii, 66.
- Religion and law, Identification of, iii, 12.
- Religious uprising that fathered the settlement of the six Eastern States, i, 122.
- Renaissance, The, ii, 359.
- Representation through delegation, i, 3, 6.
- Republic, federal, formed by the Dutch in 1579, iii, 185.
- Republicanism, Spirit of, ii, 16.
- Revolution, The first, iii, 182, 310, 311.
- Revere, Paul, of Huguenot blood, i, 54.
- Reynolds, Captain, Trickery of, iii, 340.
- Rhode Island called "The Land of Crooked Sticks," ii, 327.
- Rhode Island charter obtained by Roger Williams, ii, 329.
- Rhode Island, Sale of, iii, 62.
- Rhodes, Mary, iii, 103.
- Ribault of Dieppe, Captain, i, 230, 231; tried to settle and protect Port Royal, Florida in 1562, i, 338.
- Ribero outlined Cape Cod and Boston Harbor, i, 363.
- Richard II, Statute of, i, 148.
- Ridley, David, burned at the stake with Hugh Latimer, i, 34.
- Roads, macadam, ii, 231.
- Roanoke, English colony begun at, iii, 294.
- Roanoke, Sir Walter Raleigh's "Lost Colony," ii, 43, 44.
- Robber races, i, 6.
- Roberval in 1541 failed to establish colony on the St. Lawrence, i, 338.
- Robinson, Bridget, Will of, ii, 288.
- Robinson, Isaac, son of Bridget and John Robinson, ii, 288.
- Robinson, John, "Jan Rabbijns," i, 177; author of three books and sixty or more essays, i, 182; autograph of, i, 220; boxes the compass of religious life, i, 182; letter to the Pilgrims, i, 256; never crossed the Atlantic, i, 134; no accurate portrait of, i, 128; debates with Episcopus, i, 160; parting sermon of, i, 252; pastor of Scroobyite Separatists, i, 156; preached in Gainsborough Church, i, 114; criticizes Standish, ii, 220, 239; reference, iii, 106, 349, 356.
- Robinson Memorial Church, corner-stone laid, i, 118.
- Robinson, Mercy, granddaughter of Rev. John Robinson ii, 222.
- Robsart, Amy, Assassination of, i, 86.
- Rocheffoucauld, M. de la (Duc d'Anville), iii, 264; commanded fleet headed for New England, iii, 264.
- Rochester, Robert, fined, i, 116.
- Rock, Forefathers', i, 7.
- Rock of Thanet, edging the County of Kent, i, 7; iii, 361.
- Rodney, Admiral, captures six Dutch men-of-war, i, 310; invests the island of St. Eustatius, i, 310.

- Rolfe, John, introduced tobacco into Jamestown, i, 214; married Pocahontas, i, 222.
- Roman Catholic endorsement of Puritans and Lutherans, iii, 393.
- Roman Catholic Rebellion, The reactionary, i, 106.
- Roman Catholics enter through the gate left ajar, i, 126.
- Roman Catholics in America, ii, 337; of Maryland, iii, 295.
- Roman Catholicism, Clearings made in the thicket of, i, 8.
- Roman Empire, Beginning of the end of the greater, i, 6; culmination of its power, i, 16.
- Roman privileges allowed a vassal to pose to the world as a Roman, i, 3, 6.
- "Romans of the Western World," i, 51.
- Rose, the frigate, shorn of menacing power, iii, 182.
- Rosier, James, accompanied Weymouth up the Penobscot, ii, 72; author of "The True Relation," ii, 72.
- Rotten Row, Boston's, iii, 108.
- Rotterdam, City of, i, 246.
- Rough, Rev. John, shepherds Separatist flock, i, 86.
- Rous, John, author of "New England a Degenerate Plant," iii, 100.
- Rowlandson, Joseph, iii, 142.
- Rowlandson, Mary, capture of and her life among Indians, iii, 142.
- Rowley, iii, 212.
- Roxbury, Rhode Island, iii, 138.
- Royal Governors of New England, colonists clash with, iii, 177, 190, 191, 192.
- Royalists, Signatures of the eight, iii, 190, 191; left for Canada, iii, 323.
- Rule, Margaret, considered one of the first mediums, iii, 203; produces strange phenomena, iii, 320.
- Runnymede, Meadows of, i, 10.
- Ruscelli, recharted Cape Cod as "Cabo de Santa Maria," i, 363.
- Russell, Rev. John, guarded the regicides Goffe and Whalley in his home for many years, iii, 152.
- Rut, John, not Rutz, sent expedition to skirt the coast of Norumbega, i, 337, 363.
- Ruysch's map published in 1508, i, 362.
- S**ABBATARIANS, ANTI-, ii, 330.
- Sabbath Day, Keeping of, ii, 242; first Sabbath ashore, a melancholy day for children, 334; Precisionists, iii, 334.
- "Sacred to God His Servant, Richard Mather," poem, iii, 223.
- Sagas, The, i, 312, 314.
- Sail, lateen, or Latin, i, 278.
- Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, i, 44.
- St. Botolph, Tower of, in Lincolnshire, ii, 117.
- St. Brandon, Irish priest of the Sixth Century, i, 335.
- St. Brice's Day, i, 46.
- St. Giles in Buckinghamshire, i, 286.
- St. Malo, i, 226.
- St. Mary's Mission, Michigan, founded by Jesuits, ii, 399.
- St. Paul, Social and altruistic spirit of, iii, 8.
- St. Peter's Cathedral, i, 116, 160; since changed to Pieter's Kerk, a Reformed church, i, 160.
- Salem, Massachusetts, iii, 295.
- Salem Village (South Danvers), iii, 215.
- Saltonstall, Nathaniel, abandoned the bench in disgust, iii, 199.
- Saltonstall, Richard, ii, 333; iii, 57.
- Salvation, Chances of, farmed out, i, 126.
- Samoset, the first Indian seen by Pilgrims, ii, 75; became interpreter after Squanto's death, ii, 70, 75.
- Samuel Sewall, married Judith Hull, the mint master's daughter, ii, 156; "Prophecy of Samuel Sewall," by Whittier, "I see it all like a chart unrolled," ii, 155.
- Sandwich escapes burning, iii, 161.
- Sandys, Sir Edwyn, chief promoter of American colonization and friend of Richard Hooker, i, 65, 177, 214; au-

- thor of "A Relation of the State of Religion," i, 220; made coin disburser for the New World Land Company, i, 220; of great assistance to the Pilgrims, i, 216, 217; loaned them three hundred pounds sterling, i, 217; made Virginia a place of homes, i, 217; a great Americanizer, ii, 135.
- San Miguel de Guandise (afterward Jamestown), i, 216.
- San Salvador reached by Columbus Oct. 12, 1492, i, 324.
- Santa Fé, Spanish oncoming to, iii, 293.
- Santa Maria, The crew of, numbered 120, i, 273; first ship of record to cross the ocean, i, 331, 332, 333.
- Saquish Head, ii, 56.
- Saratoga, Battle of, iii, 81.
- Sargent, John, of Stockbridge, mastered much of the Algonquin speech, iii, 127; reached the heart of the Indian, iii, 352.
- Sassacus killed by Mohawks, iii, 163.
- Sassamon, John, the Christian Indian, semi-secretary to King Philip, iii, 133; divulged plot to massacre the whites, iii, 133; himself murdered, iii, 133.
- Savage, Thomas, renowned Indian fighter, iii, 162; buried in King's Chapel burying ground, Boston, Massachusetts, iii, 162.
- Savonarola, Girolamo, i, 130; strangled in 1498, i, 67.
- Saw of Colonial days, Surgeon's, ii, 66.
- Saxon tribes, i, 1.
- Say and Seale, Lord, ii, 343.
- Scaftworth, a village adjoining Scrooby, ii, 39, 227.
- "Scarlet Letter, The," ii, 130; sewed to the culprit instead of using the branding iron, ii, 130.
- Schenectady, New York, church erected by sale of Eencluy's land, ii, 342.
- School system, Public, copied from the Dutch, ii, 140.
- Schooner, Cape Ann, i, 373.
- Scituate burned by Indians, iii, 161.
- Scotch, Coming of the, iii, 58.
- Scotch Covenanters, iii, 300.
- Scotch-Irish element in New England, iii, 299, 300.
- Scotch Ulsterites, iii, 296.
- Scotland boasted a system of free public education centuries before England, i, 58.
- Scott, Sir Walter, iii, 102.
- "Scowl of the landscape" bordering Plymouth Harbor, iii, 370.
- Scrooby, i, 118; Separatists attempt to sail from Boston, England, to Holland, i, 138; gathering of Separatist clans, i, 118; worshipped in Brewster's Inn and in the Archbishop of York's summer palace, i, 118, 123; ii, 107.
- Scrooby church, i, 116.
- Scrooby hunting lodge of the Archbishop of York, i, 136.
- Scrooby manor house, i, 134; ii, 106; birthplace of Brewster, i, 136; later used by him as an inn.
- Scrooby meetings in 1605, iii, 338.
- Scroobyites, i, 154; Brewster and Bradford the only Scroobyites among Pilgrims first reaching the New World, i, 122.
- Scusset and Manomet Rivers, ii, 284.
- Sea burial, the second, i, 294.
- Sea of Darkness, Horrors of, i, 308; spanned by American aeroplanes, i, 278.
- Second Separatists, i, 98.
- Second excursion made in shallop, ii, 33; accompanied by long boat, mound of golden corn uncovered, ii, 33; owner of corn fully paid, ii, 34; white man's grave found, ii, 34.
- Second landing on Plymouth Rock, ii, 59.
- Sedition thrives on Roman methods, i, 6.
- "Seminole Defiance, The," poem, by C. W. Patton, iii, 147.
- Separatism, Birth of, staged on dark and bloody ground, i, 23, 28, 76, 77; true inwardness of, iii, 318; a positive movement, iii, 318.
- Separatists start for Holland, i, 148; consider leaving the Dutch Republic, i, 186, 234.
- Separatists, Half-way, i, 98, 111.

- Separatists supposed to sponsor toleration, i, 166.
- Sequassa, friend of Miantonomoh, iii, 61.
- Servetus, in whose honor a statue has been placed, i, 67.
- Settle of stone presented by the women of Pennsylvania, iii, 372.
- Settlement at Patuxet, i, 59, 64;
- Seven Leyden Articles, The, i, 237, 239.
- Seventeenth century Englishmen, Trio of (Robinson, Brewster, and Bradford, i, 134.
- Sewall, Samuel (New England's Samuel Pepys), presented a meeting house to the Indians, ii, 33; chief justice of Massachusetts, ii, 154; poem on New England, "As long as Plum Island Shall Faithfully Keep," ii, 154; wrote pamphlet, "The Selling of Joseph," ii, 167; references, ii, 99, 245; iii, 124, 199; believed the Indians the ten lost tribes, iii, 124; preached first Indian sermon at Waban in 1646, iii, 124.
- Seymour, Jane, i, 34.
- Shaftesbury, Lord, Utopian dream of, iii, 292.
- Shackamaxon treaty elm, iii, 116, 399.
- Shakespeare's Henry VIII, ii, 107.
- Shallop built in Buzzard's Bay, ii, 209.
- Shallop, Grounding of the, i, 146.
- Shanghaiing, ii, 352.
- Shattuck, Samuel, the Salem Quaker, iii, 107.
- Shawmut, inspection of by colonists, ii, 294.
- "She Came and Stood in the Old South Church," poem, iii, 98.
- Sheffield Patent, The, ii, 256.
- Ship of State, A new, ii, 333.
- "Ship of the Gods," Carlyle, i, 282.
- Shipping lists, English, show many "Mayflowers," i, 290.
- Shirley, Gov., Proclamation of, ii, 387; iii, 262.
- Sicilian death vespers, i, 46, 223.
- Siena Campanile, ii, 118.
- Signatures of William Bradford and Dorothy May, ii, 111.
- Signing of Pilgrim compact, ii, 2.
- Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, i, 18.
- Singing, ii, 181, 205, 243.
- Singing Schools, ii, 205.
- Six Nations, "Romans of the Western World," i, 366.
- "Skeleton in Armor, The," by Longfellow, i, 322.
- Skelton, Rev. Samuel, pastor of Salem Church, ii, 323; joins Salem colony, ii, 354.
- Slave trade, African, i, 282; suppressed by Webster-Ashburton Treaty, iii, 166.
- Slaver, Deck plans of a, iii, 165.
- Slavery abolished in Massachusetts in 1783; upheld by South Carolina, iii, 292.
- Smithfield Shambles, Pyre and gibbet of, iii, 338.
- Smallpox appears in the Connecticut Valley, ii, 343.
- Smith, James, painted and scrubbed by Indian girls, ii, 380.
- Smith, Rev. Ralph, called as pastor of Plymouth Church, ii, 285; Roger Williams becomes his assistant, ii, 286, 322.
- Smith, Captain John, i, 202, 206, 228; praises beauties of Norumbega, i, 199; made first real map of the New England coast, i, 359; establishes first English colony in America at Jamestown in 1607, i, 342; return to England forced, i, 224; proffered aid rejected by Pilgrims, i, 373.
- Smyth, John, i, 95, 107; came to Holland in 1606, flees to Amsterdam, i, 114, 156; his followers cast their lot with the Brownists, and Scroobyites joined the group, i, 156.
- Smythites, i, 154.
- Smock marriages, iii, 258.
- Snap-hance gun, Pilgrims armed with the, ii, 20.
- Snorre, first American citizen and first native American author, i, 318.
- Socinians, ii, 330.
- Somers, Sir George, i, 202.

- Somerset, Lord, State paper and Bill of Rights, iii, 185.
- Somerset, Wreck of the, on Peaked Hill Bar, i, 297; ii, 26.
- Southampton and Provincetown forced to pose as lost towns, i, 290.
- Southampton, Pilgrim Tercentenary of 1920, i, 262.
- South Carolina settled by the English, iii, 300; population in 1774, iii, 315.
- South Danvers (Salem Village), iii, 215.
- South New England, iii, 324.
- Southwark, i, 152.
- Southwick, Cassandra, sold on the auction block, iii, 104, 106.
- Southwick family, Harrowing fate of the, iii, 104.
- Southwick, Josiah, iii, 104; flogged out of the world, iii, 106.
- Southworth, Edward, first husband of Alice Carpenter Southworth, ii, 227.
- South Virginia Company, The, i, 103.
- Spain, twelve years' truce with, i, 234.
- Spanish Armada, The, i, 327.
- Spanish Inquisition, punishments as compared with cruelties of the aborigines, ii, 12.
- Sparrow Hawk, The, wrecked at Orleans in 1626, i, 298.
- Speedwell, the name of an English flower, i, 285.
- Speedwell, The, sails with the Mayflower, i, 264, 266; return number two, i, 268; welcomed by Mayor Downes, i, 268; refitted in Holland, iii, 340.
- Spinning wheels on Boston Common, iii, 34.
- "Spiritual Milk for Boston Babes," iii, 281.
- Spiritual freedom, Major prophets of, (Roger Williams, William Penn, Thomas Jefferson), ii, 329.
- Springfield burned by Indians, iii, 161.
- Squannaconk Swamp, iii, 159.
- Squanto (Tisquantum), taken to England by Weymouth, ii, 72; twice stolen and enslaved in Spain; freed by monks, returned to his native soil, by Captain Dermer, ii, 74; chosen as interpreter and utility man, ii, 71, 74, 162; rescued, ii, 211; thievish traits shown, ii, 167; life saved by arrival of Weston's shallop, ii, 224; Squanto died of the fever at Chatham in 1622, ii, 224.
- Squantum Head, ii, 164.
- Squeb, Captain, ii, 290.
- Squid, the giant, i, 309.
- Stadacone, the Great Red Rock, i, 366.
- Stage coach, The first, iii, 315, 316.
- Stage Rocks (in Gloucester), ii, 256.
- Stamford, Settlement of, iii, 40.
- Stamp Act, Legality of the, challenged, iii, 311.
- Standish, Alexander, son of Myles, married Sarah, daughter of John and Priscilla Alden, ii, 188; iii, 78.
- Standish, Lorea, daughter of Myles Standish, ii, 106.
- Standish, Myles ("The Little Captain"), first military commander of New England, i, 65, 284; sword of Damascus steel, ii, 105; conference with Abbatinewat, ii, 165; suitor of Priscilla, ii, 175, 176; called "soldier of fortune, ii, 172; religious opinions unknown, ii, 172; manorial rights in Lancashire, ii, 172; Hill Top Farm, ii, 118; elected town treasurer, ii, 172; sent to England on finance, ii, 172; obtains 150 pounds, ii, 172; arrests Morton, ii, 281; up-to-date in weapons and tactics, ii, 20; married Barbara, ii, 188; conquest of Indians, ii, 216; meets challenge of the Narragansetts, ii, 206; returns rattlesnake skin, ii, 208; saves Plymouth settlement, ii, 218; backs John Alden in Hockings imbroglio, ii, 344; criticized by Pastor Robinson, ii, 220; remembered Mercy Robinson in his will, ii, 222; his sword, iii, 78; monument, iii, 80; The Little Captain, iii, 356; virile accomplishment, iii, 356; Damascus blade, iii, 356; addresses to Priscilla, iii, 356; death of, Oct., 1656, iii, 76; grave located, iii, 76; statue of, iii, 77.
- Star of the East, actual and commercial, i, 325.
- Stark, General, running the gauntlet, ii, 390.

- State Churchmen, iii, 356.
 Statute books of Plymouth differ from those of England, ii, 69.
 Stephanus, Sigurd, an Icelander, called Cape Cod "Vineland," i, 338, 364.
 Stetson, Andrew, born 1792, died 1889, ii, 46.
 Stevens, Marmaduke, iii, 94.
 Stockholders, London, withdraw support, iii, 348.
 Stoddard, Solomon, of Northampton, iii, 139.
 Stoughton, William, iii, 199; petitions to free Le Barran, iii, 170.
 Stratford, Earl of, iii, 50.
 Stratford church window, ii, 102.
 Studley, Daniel, pilgrimages to New England with the Johnsons, i, 93.
 Study Hill at Rehoboth, Rhode Island, i, 134.
 Stuyvesant, Peter, Governor of New Amsterdam, ii, 266; surrenders, unlocking to the British the treasures of North America; dealt justice to both white and red man, ii, 384.
 Sudbury burned by Indians, iii, 161.
 Suffrage, Right of, denied, iii, 178, 329;
 Suffrage, voice of femininity first raised in America in 1647, by Margaret Brent, ii, 15.
 Suffrage vote, the first cast in New England, ii, 65; chose John Carver as governor and Myles Standish first military commander of New England, ii, 65.
 Sullivan, John, destroyed the Iroquois confederacy, ii, 386; bred as a lawyer in New Hampshire, ii, 386.
 Sullivan's expedition destroys Indians and Canadians, Sullivan Road named for John Sullivan, ii, 386.
 Sun, Temple of the, ii, 383.
 Sun Worshippers, ii, 382.
 Surgeons' saw of colonial days, ii, 66.
 Swamp fight, Narragansett, iii, 148.
 Swan, The, sent by Weston, iii, 342.
 Swiss Federal Republic, Motto of the, ii, 10.
 Swiss-Zwingli swing to Protestantism, i, 40.
 Switzerland, a federal republic, i, 38.
 Symbols discarded by the Puritan, i, 124.
 Synod of Dort, The International, i, 72.
 Synod of Augsburg, iii, 397.
 Tenniel, Sir John, portrays Kaiser Wilhelm as "dropping the pilot" in shipping Bismarck, ii, 107.
 Tennyson's "Locksley Hall," quotation from, ii, 369.
 Tercentenary badges and medals, iii, 385, 386; memorial from the mayor of Plymouth, England, to the mayor of Plymouth, Mass., 387; stamp, type of, 386.
 Tercentenary celebrations of 1920 in England, i, 81; in Holland, i, 62, 248, 268; references to, ii, 102, 135.
 Teutonic immigrants into Berlin, i, 6.
 Texel and Amsterdam, i, 142.
 Thacker, Elias, i, 89.
 "Thanatopsis" (Bryant), ii, 126.
 Thanet, Isle of, i, 1; Rock of, i, 7.
 Thanksgiving Day, Dutch, established at Leyden in 1572, ii, 196.
 Thanksgiving Dinner, The first, ii, 192.
 TAILER, REBECCA, iii, 182.
 Talbot, Goodman, ii, 344.
 Tarantines, The, persuaded to swear allegiance to King James I, ii, 165.
 Taunton church conference, resulting in treaty, iii, 132.
 Taunton, Massachusetts, escaped massacre, iii, 132.
 Taylor, Rev., father of Boston's Seamen's Bethel, ii, 256.
 Tecumseh, Blackfoot chief, ii, 392.
 Temperance, Advocates of, ii, 304.
 Temperance laws in Plymouth, ii, 317.
 Temple, Frederick, Bishop of London, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, returns Bradford's book to America through Ambassador Bayard, ii, 100.
 Temple Bar, England, decorated with heads of malefactors, iii, 157.
 Teniers, The pencil of a, i, 187.

- "That sinners may supply the place," etc., lines by an unknown, ii, 213.
- Thatched roofs, Use of, ii, 273.
- Theatre, Date of launching the first, ii, 205.
- "The Cotter's Saturday Night," ii, 105.
- "The Crossed Swords," poem, iii, 322.
- Theology, The Greek, changes gloom to gladness, ii, 358, 360, 361; of world-wide revenge, iii, 349.
- Third church edifice built in 1683, ii, 137.
- Third Pilgrim inspection of the country, ii, 52.
- Thirteenth century, The maligned, i, 14.
- Thirty Year War, ended 1648, i, 234.
- Thomas, William, Signature of, ii, 49; born 1789, died 1882, ii, 49.
- Thompson, Edward, Death of, ii, 52.
- Thomson, David, Scotch fishmonger of London, died 1628, ii, 165.
- Thomson Island ("The Fruitful Isle"), named for David Thomson, also for the sailor, Trevore, ii, 162, 165.
- Thor and Woden, worship of, i, 1.
- Thorfin, the Norseman, reaches Buzzard's Bay and founds colony, i, 318.
- Thorfin and his wife, Gudrida, brave the sea to reclaim Thorwald's body, i, 320.
- Thorhall, lieutenant of Thorfin, enslaved in Ireland, i, 320.
- Thornton Abbey, i, 144.
- Thornton, John W., recognized quotations from Bradford's book, ii, 100.
- Thorwald, victim of Indian arrows, i, 320; his burial starts the first Cape Cod cemetery, i, 320; grave on Roman-nosed Gurnet, i, 320.
- "Three Turk Heads" (Straitsmouth, Thatcher, and Milk Islands), named by Captain John Smith, i, 373.
- "Through the trees fierce eyeballs glowed," iii, 153.
- "Through Smyrna's plague-hushed thoroughfares," iii, 100.
- Tichborne claimant, The, i, 360.
- Tilley, Elizabeth, married John Howland, ii, 50.
- "Tinker of Bedford" (John Bunyan), i, 98.
- Tisquantum (Squanto), died of fever in 1622, ii, 71.
- Tithing man, Plymouth's, iii, 4, 251, 254, 327.
- Tituba, negro servant, started catacyclism of blood, iii, 203.
- Tiverton Point, iii, 142.
- Tobacco introduced into Jamestown, i, 214; cultivation of, ii, 194; forbidden to be smoked in Plymouth within a mile of any dwelling, ii, 317.
- Toleration, i, 166.
- Toller, Rev. Thomas, of Sheffield, i, 96.
- Tombstone, An original, over grave of Captain Richard More ("Little Dicky More"), ii, 61; of John Howland, iii, 387; William Pabodie, 388; Phineas Pratt, 388.
- Tomochichi, Sachem, ii, 404.
- Tools, An Indian's theft of, carpenters' and masons', ii, 66.
- Tooth extractor, iii, 388.
- Tooth hygiene, iii, 388.
- Torfacus published Icelandic tracings, i, 360.
- Tories and Whigs, ii, 254.
- Tories of Plymouth, The, iii, 323.
- Toryism pilloried, iii, 311.
- Toscaneli, i, 324; map of, i, 328.
- Tours, Moors defeated by Charles Martel at, i, 8.
- Towne Brooke, The, ii, 115, 138, 152, 230.
- Town Crier, The, one of the quaint customs still kept in Provincetown, ii, 28.
- Town meeting plan of government, i, 2, 6; first in the New World, i, 300; town meeting of Jan. 3, 1775, iii, 316.
- Town treasurer, Christopher Martin, ii, 82.
- Towns burned by Indians, iii, 161.
- Towns, The Cape, iii, 161.
- Trade, Most profitable New England, iii, 166.
- Trading post at Castine, ii, 318; business turned over to Joseph Willet, ii, 318; post erected at Windsor, ii, 341.
- Tragabigzanda, Cape, i, 373; the headland of Cape Cod, ii, 256.

- Transubstantiation, The doctrine of, i, 7.
 Travel, Mode of early, ii, 140.
 Treat, Robert, colonial major, iii, 144.
 Treaties: Westphalia, foundation of the future German Empire, i, 234; with Massasoit, ii, 72, 76; iii, 88; Nova Scotia, ii, 238; of 1647, ii, 384; signed by King Philip, ii, 331; Webster-Ashburton, iii, 166; Uncas-Mohegan, iii, 60.
 Treaty Elm at Shakamaxon, iii, 116.
 Tremont Row, Boston, iii, 108.
 Troth, or intention of marriage volume kept by the Dutch, i, 166.
 Truce with Spain, Twelve Year, i, 234.
 Trumbull, J. Hammond, iii, 124.
 Trycher, discoverer of primal grape arbor in the New World, i, 364.
 Tryon, Governor, iii, 293.
 Tudor days, Manner of life in, i, 77.
 Tudor, Mary (Bloody Mary), i, 39.
 Tudors, Reign of the, i, 40.
 Tufts, Mercy, under ban, ii, 130.
 Tulips, Raising of, i, 174.
 Turk, The unspeakable, wrested Constantinople from the Greeks, i, 172.
 Turkey, Original of the name, ii, 196.
 Turner, Will, led forces at Turner's Falls, iii, 145, 162.
 Turner's Falls, iii, 145.
 Tuscaroras, The, i, 367.
 Twenty-one little houses for the Pilgrims, i, 161.
 Twin Capes of the North, i, 223; of the South, i, 223.
 Tyndale, i, 22.
 United States Coast Survey, the life-saving arm of the Government, i, 297.
 United States, Constitution of the, iii, 231.
 United colonies, Confederation of the, iii, 338.
 Unshackling of the Race, iii, 361.
 Upheavals during the reign of Charlemagne and Alfred the Great, i, 12.
 Upper Burial Hill, ii, 116.
 Uprisings, Religious, i, 22.
 Upsall, Richard, iii, 114.
 Vaccination introduced by Jenner, ii, 343.
 Valley Forge, Washington at, ii, 123.
 Valois, Margaret of, i, 46.
 Van Curler, Arendt, founder of the Dutch peace policy with the Iroquois, i, 368; surpassed Indians in statecraft and diplomacy, ii, 385.
 Vancouver, 1791, i, 343.
 Van Hout, Jan, 1, 158.
 Van Meteren, Jacob, elder in the Dutch Church at Austin Friars, i, 34.
 Van Ostade, the pencil of a, i, 187.
 Van Twiller, Wouter, at first clerk in the West India Company's office, ii, 341; an example of nepotism in government, ii, 341; incompetent governor of New Amsterdam, ii, 341; succeeded by Gov. Kieft, ii, 341.
 Vane, Sir Harry, deposed as governor, returned to England, put to death by Charles II, iii, 20, 34.
 Vassall, William, iii, 71.
 Venice Gazette, The, iii, 282.
 Verrazano, Giovanni, initial pioneer for France, i, 362; manned the Dauphin in 1524, i, 362; sailed into Hudson's Bay, i, 337; named Manhattan, i, 362; first white man to set foot in the Carolinas, i, 362.

- Vespuccius, Americus (Amerigo Vespucci), Discoveries of, i, 336, skirts the Florida coast, i, 357.
- Victory of the Nobles, aided by Archbishop Langton, i, 10.
- Vikings, The (Norsemen), i, 318.
- Vineland, i, 318.
- Vigne, Jean, ii, 43.
- Virginia, i, 21, 77; a camp of adventure, i, 217; the "Mother of Presidents," i, 216; ii, 117; Assembly inaugurated, ii, 65; an example of official ingratitude, ii, 331; laws severe, iii, 328.
- Virginia Dare, ii, 43, 44.
- Viscane, Sebastian, i, 342.
- Voltaire, French wit, ii, 359, 360.
- Vos Haven (Boston Harbor), i, 372.
- Wellfleet escapes burning, iii, 161.
- Welshman's epitaph, i, 290.
- Wesleys, The (John and Charles), prominent factors in the Great Awakening, iii, 308, 310.
- Wesley, John, belief in witchcraft, iii, 230.
- West, Admiral, ii, 236.
- West India Company, ii, 260.
- West Men, The, from Dorchester, England, ii, 166.
- West, Sir Francis, Arrival of, ii, 225.
- Weston, Thomas, i, 233, 258; ii, 210; iii, 342.
- Weymouth nearly wrecked Plymouth colony, ii, 215; burned by Indians, iii, 161, 348.
- Weymouth, George, the sea rover, captured Indians on the Maine Coast in 1605, i, 342; took Squanto to England, ii, 72, 73.
- Weymouth (Wessagusset), settled by Weston's "Undesirables," ii, 211, 259.
- Whalers, Cape Cod, ii, 146.
- Whalley, Edward, regicide, ii, 349.
- Wharton, Lord, fast friend of Increase Mather, iii, 189.
- Wheelwright, John, iii, 47.
- Whigs and Tories, ii, 254; iii, 323.
- White apple tree, The, ii, 161.
- White cradle, The, ii, 39.
- White, Colony of the Rev. John ii, 166, 253.
- White, Peregrine, birth of, ii, 38, 45, 46; presented by the town with 200 acres of land, ii, 46; last survivor of the Mayflower company, ii, 84; married Sarah Bassett, ii, 111.
- White, Roger, brother-in-law of John Robinson, ii, 221.
- WADSWORTH, Peleg, grandsire of the poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, ii, 178, 179; iii, 274.
- Wain, Frolics on the, ii, 74.
- Waldron, Major, killed by Indians, iii, 226.
- Waldseemuller, Martin, christened the new country "America," i, 357.
- Walford, Thomas, the blacksmith, ii, 259.
- Walloons, the first true settlers of New Netherland, i, 35; ii, 260; iii, 295.
- War of the Barons, i, 10, 18.
- War, The Dutch, ii, 384.
- Ward, Rev. Nathaniel, author of the "Body of Liberties," ii, 153; iii, 200.
- Ware's tribute to Coronado, "In that half-forgotten era," i, 358.
- Wareham escapes burning, iii, 161.
- Warren, Mercy, ii, 130.
- Warwick Patent, The, ii, 191.
- Warwick, The Earl of, ii, 17.
- Washington, George, iii, 182; medal, 386.
- Washington Irving, ii, 274; iii, 327.
- Watch Tower, The, on Burial Hill, ii, 139.
- "Water beggars," i, 172.
- Watertown Company, The, iii, 44.
- Wattawamat (Wituwamat) summoned by Standish, ii, 217.
- Wattawamat's head exposed on roof of fort, ii, 219; iii, 42, 356.
- Watts, Samuel, Signature of, iii, 277.
- Waverly Oaks, The, ii, 296.
- Webster-Ashburton Treaty, iii, 166.
- Webster, Daniel, "America's Demosthenes," ii, 51.
- Weetamo, wife of Alexander, and sister of King Philip, iii, 123.
- Welde, Thomas, denounced Ann Hutchinson, iii, 30, 322.

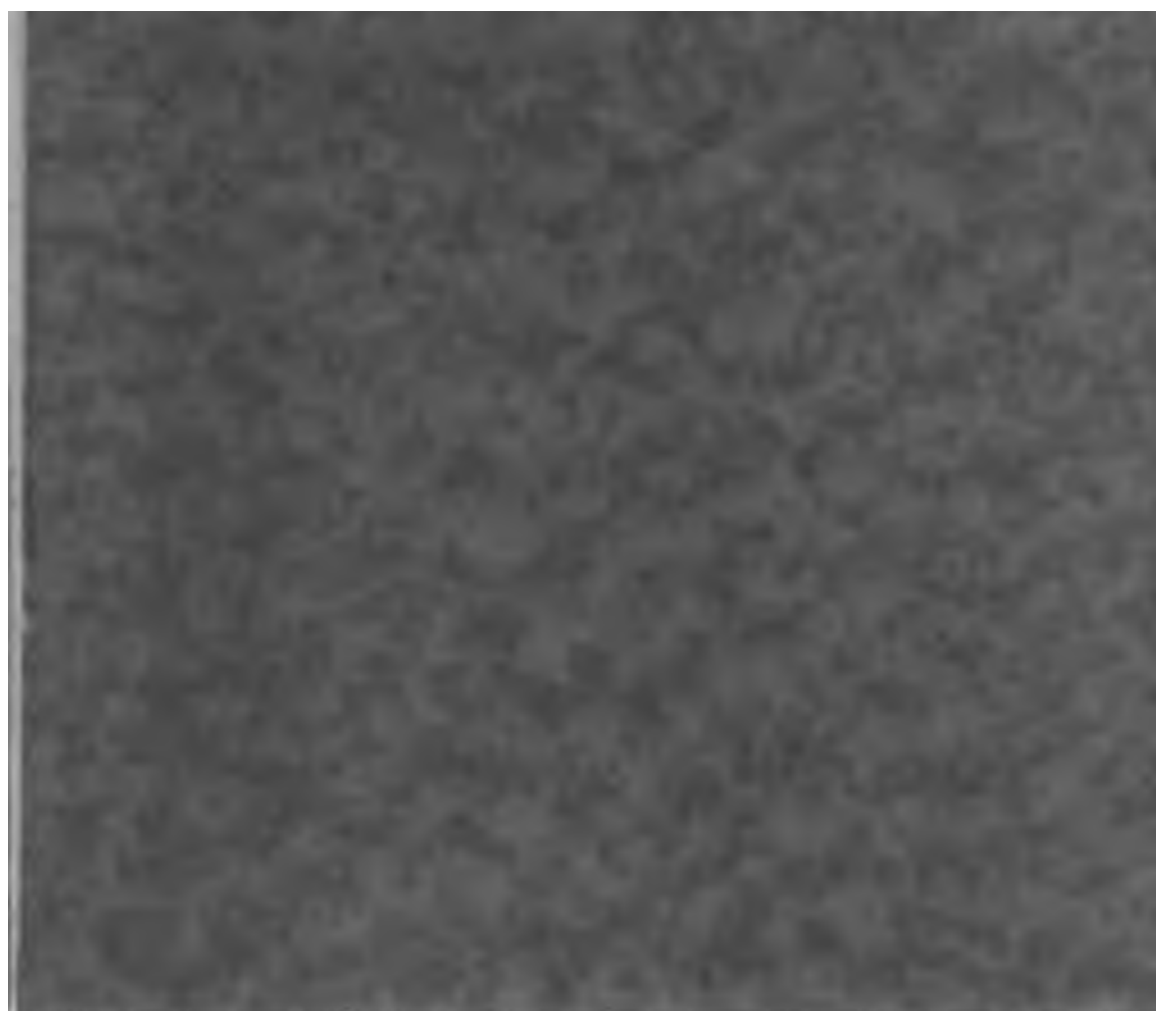
- White, Resolved, brother of Peregrine, ii, 39.
- White, Susannah, mother of Peregrine White, ii, 46; married Edward Winslow, ii, 50; mother of the first native-born governor and first major-general of the colonies, ii, 50; photo of her dress, iii, 388.
- White, Gov. William, sailed for Croaton Isle, ii, 44.
- White, William, one of the victims during the death winter, ii, 9, 46.
- Whitefield, George, prominent factor in the Great Awakening, iii, 308; preached on Boston Common to 30,000 people, iii, 310.
- Whitman, Dr. Marcus, i, 356.
- Whitney House, i, 231.
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, the poet, first verses submitted to William Lloyd Garrison, iii, 101, 102; "Isle of Manissee," iii, 22; "In the solemn days of old," iii, 224; "She came and stood in the Old South Church," iii, 98; "Through Smyrna's plague-hushed thoroughfares," iii, 100.
- Wife Whipper, The, iii, 98.
- Wiggin, Captain, of Piscataquack, ii, 346.
- Wigglesworth Michael, author of "Day of Doom," iii, 238; death of, iii, 239.
- Wilberforce, Dr. Samuel, instrumental in the finding of Bradford's book, i, 282; ii, 100.
- Wilder, Mary, wife of Le Barran, iii, 170.
- Willard, Simon, hero of Brookfield tragedy, pastor of the Old South Church, iii, 145, 162, 199, 213.
- Willet, Joseph, ii, 319; iii, 86.
- Wilhelmina, Queen, Reign of, i, 191.
- William the Conqueror, crowned king in 1066, i, 8.
- William of Occom, i, 20.
- William I, The Conqueror, i, 8.
- William I, Prince of Orange (William the Silent), takes reigns of government in the Netherlands, i, 166; Calvinism established, i, 166, 168; made the federal republic of seven states a refuge for all sects, i, 168; freed Holland from the Spaniard by cutting the dykes at Delfshaven, i, 170; united the provinces, i, 174; unwittingly furnished model for Rhode Island charter, ii, 329; assassinated, i, 170.
- William III gave liberty to British Free Churchmen, iii, 183; charter, proclaimed personal royal ownership, ii, 298; gave his life as well as his "kingdom for a horse," iii, 183, 184.
- Williams, Roger, protests at giving away land extending to the Pacific, i, 104; ii, 126; points emphasized in his preaching, ii, 320; his radicalism, ii, 322, 323, 328; banished by Puritans, iii, 23; heretic missionary Baptist, iii, 29; reached the heart of the savage, iii, 352.
- Wills, Three early Pilgrim, ii, 126.
- Wilson, Deborah, Quaker preacher, iii, 103.
- Wilson, John, bitter accuser of Ann Hutchinson, iii, 32; rector of St. Botolph's, iii, 120; pastor of the First Church of Boston-on-the-Charles, iii, 120.
- Windsor, Connecticut, ii, 167; iii, 39, 40.
- Wingfield, Edward (Maria), i, 202.
- Winslow, Gov. Edward, staunch advocate of Roger Williams, ii, 143, 326; volunteer hostage at peace conference, ii, 78; commission of ii, 108; describes first New England Thanksgiving, ii, 194; nursed Massasoit back to health, ii, 214; author, iii, 69; first Free Churchman, iii, 74; married Elizabeth Barker (first wife), Susannah White (second wife), iii, 50, 75; death of, iii, 70.
- Winslow, Edward, a prominent Tory, grandson of Gov. Edward Winslow (footnote), iii, 316.
- Winslow, Edward, married Magdelene Ollyver in St. Bride's Church, 1594, iii, 75.
- Winslow, John, brother of Edward Winslow, married Mary Chilton, ii, 199, 253; a diplomat, ii, 336, 339, 357, 398; transported the Acadians, iii, 76; wrote "Good Newes from New England," ii, 348; references, iii, 272, 277.

- Winslow, Josiah, first native-born governor and major-general of Plymouth Bay and United Colonies, iii, 136.
- Winslow mansion, Plymouth, iii, 75.
- Winslow relics in Pilgrim Hall, iii, 75.
- Winter Hill, scene of Minute Men's bivouac, iii, 313.
- Winthrop, Adam, of Groton, ii, 302.
- Winthrop, John, elected governor of the Massachusetts colony, ii, 88, 278, 290, 300, 306, 398; iii, 93, 176.
- Winthrop, John, Jr., governor of Connecticut, iii, 51, 98.
- Winthrop, Madame, ii, 157.
- Witchcraft, ii, 316; iii, 195, 217, 230.
- Witchcraft Court, iii, 200.
- Witch Hill, iii, 212.
- "Witch's Daughter, The," poem, iii, 216.
- Wituwamat (Wattawamat) beheaded by Myles Standish, iii, 342, 356.
- Wolcott, Roger, of Connecticut, led troops to capture Louisburg, iii, 262, 264.
- Wollaston, Captain, ii, 280.
- Wolsey, Cardinal Thomas, disgraced at court of Henry VIII, i, 136; mulberry tree planted by, i, 136; ii, 106.
- Wood-End Light, a red flash, i, 297; ii, 168.
- Wood, William, came out as a reporter for the English company that settled at Salem; wrote *History of New England*, ii, 165, 192.
- Wood's map, i, 378.
- Woodward, Mehetabel, ii, 316.
- Wootonakamuski, wife of King Philip, iii, 147.
- Wright, Langley, and Curtis, aeroplane inventors, i, 276.
- Wyclif, John, "Morning Star of the Reformation," i, 12, 22; author of the *Pleshy Bible*, i, 26; writings reached the Continent, i, 128; sent forth his "poor preachers," iii, 290; bones burned, i, 28.
- Wyoming and Cherry Valley campaigns, ii, 275.
- Wytliet, 1597, i, 342.
- Yacht "America" purchased by the United States, i, 373; sailed by the author, i, 373;
- Yeardley, Governor of Virginia, i, 222.
- Yorktown, ii, 124.
- York, Nottingham, and Lincolnshire, i, 222.
- Young women, Shipment of, by Sir Edwin Sandys, i, 218.
- Yucatan civilization, ii, 16.
- ZeeLand, Coast of, i, 145.
- Zeni brothers, *The Venetian*, i, 359.
- Zwingli, the Swiss reformer, i, 60, 69.

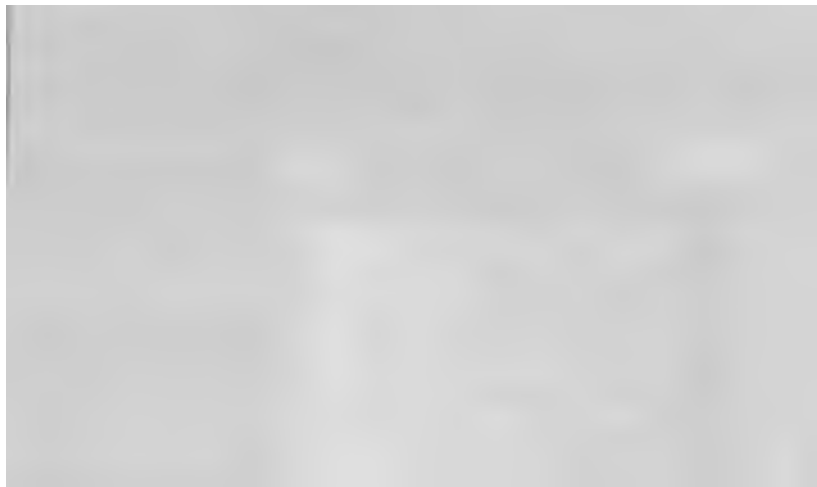




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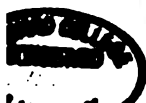
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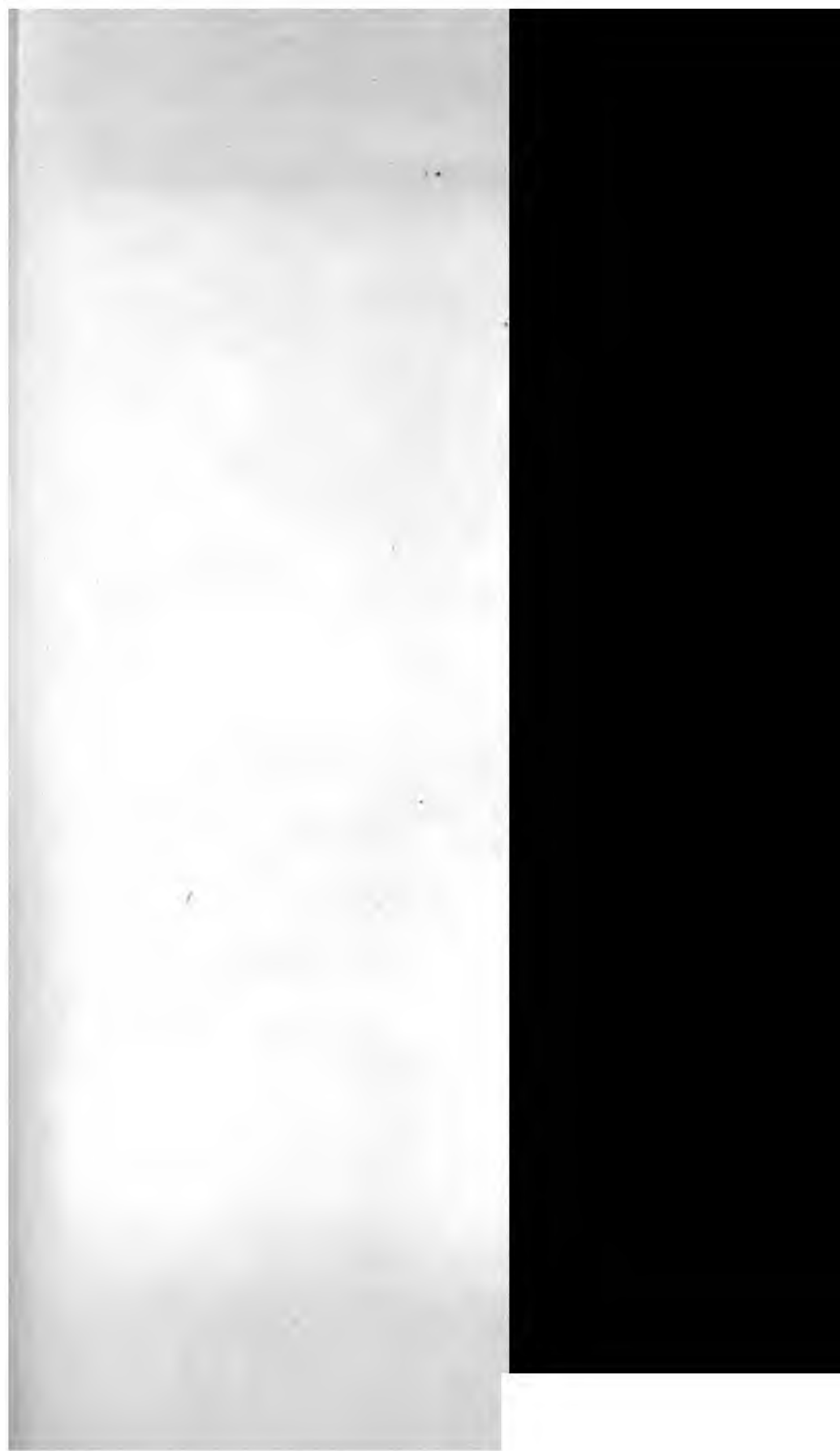
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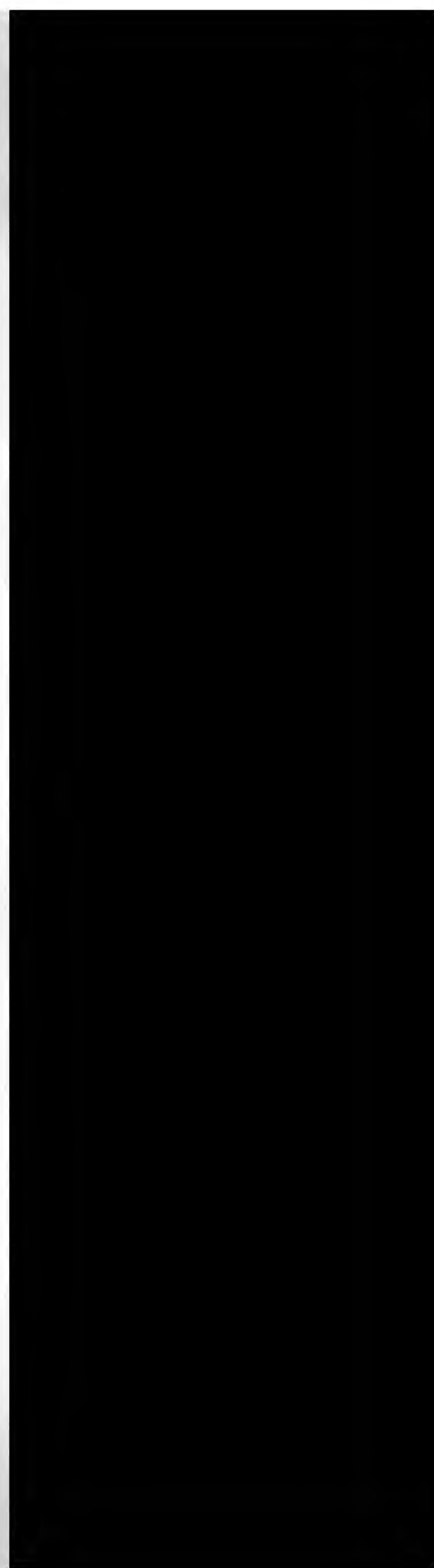


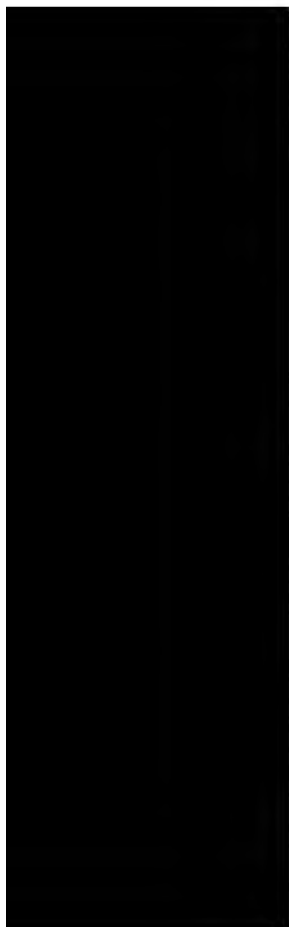


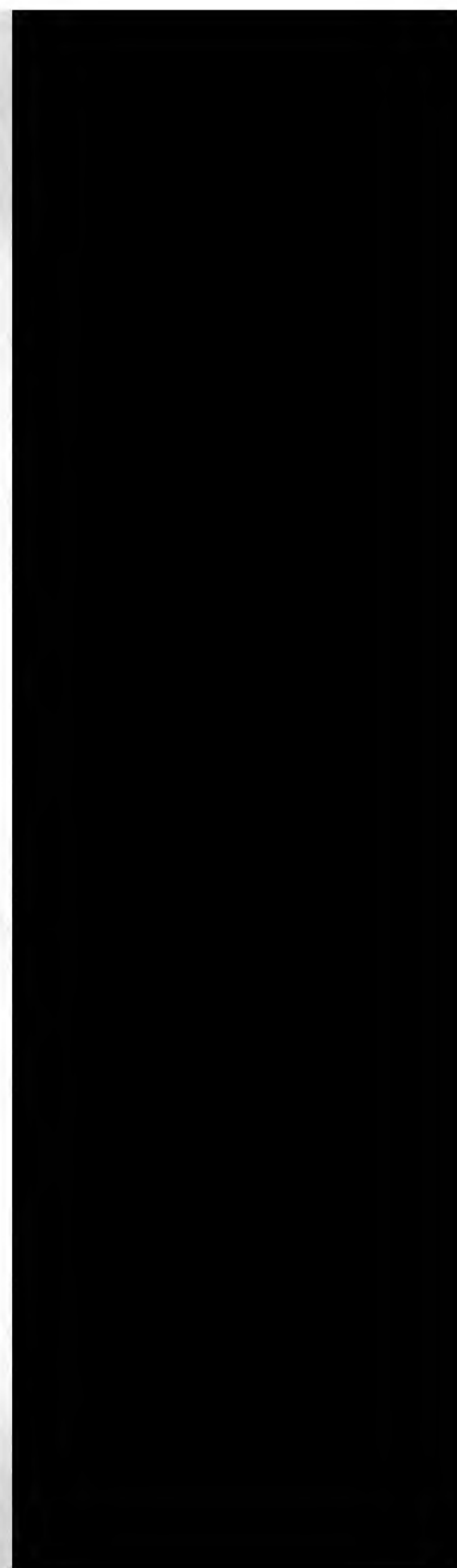


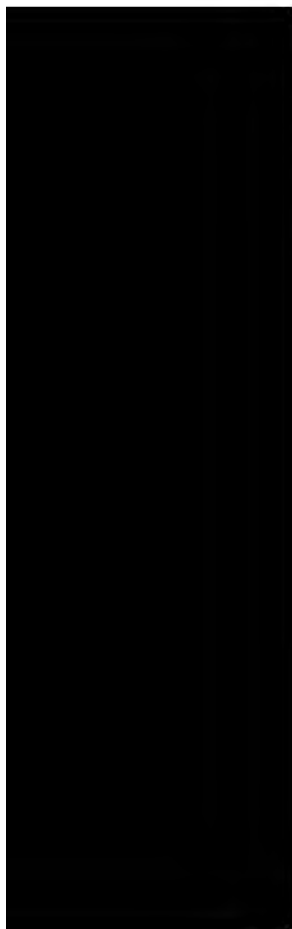












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